Dimitri Shostakovich Cables from Besieged Leningrad

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY OCTOBER 28, 1941

PRODUCTION FOR INVASION

Britain's Factories Push for the Western Front

A Cable from London by Claude Cockburn

JAPAN'S DOUBLE PLAY

By Joseph Starobin

WE CAN BEAT INFLATION

By Robert O. Winters

THE KEARNY CHALLENGE

By the Editors

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DEAR READER:

We know how you feel; we feel the same way. We know that the men and women of the Soviet Union will fight on, if necessary to the last drop of blood. We know what sacrifices, what great tasks victory requires. And like you, we cannot rest while we feel the overwhelming obligation to match their heroism. For we too are in this fight to the end. We know that there will be neither peace, nor rest, nor contentment so long as the world is ravaged by the medieval beast spawned out of Berlin. We know that our own country is in peril. For all frontiers are down—the bomber has conquered space. The war leaps from continent to continent. The snarl of the Nazi monster sounds in every sovereign nation in the world: our country is in danger equal to that of the Soviet Union, to that of Great Britain.

The headlines bring despair only to cowards. The danger dare not paralyze: it must evoke greater effort, unsparing, relentless effort to win out over the menace. To that NEW MASSES is dedicated: to work for the drawing together of all anti-Hitler men and women, to achieve that necessary unity of effort to conquer the common enemy. NEW MASSES is an important weapon in that fight, its history as an anti-Nazi soldier proves that.

But NEW MASSES at this moment is fighting for its life—fighting for the wherewithal to continue the battle. We warned of the danger weeks ago. That warning has been heeded by too few. We know that every reader is fighting on many fronts, giving what he can to a multitude of causes. But he has come to take NEW MASSES for granted: "It came out last week, the week before, and it will come out again next week," is a common attitude. This confidence may mean NEW MASSES' destruction.

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The printer has threatened to keep the forthcoming issue off the press. Our drive to date has brought only about a third of what is needed. We asked for $7,600. We have received only $2,450.

The relatively small sum of $5,000 stands between continuance and suppression.

There are those who realize the danger, but not enough of them. We are proud to tell the story of a reader who came to the office the other day. "I differed with you," he said, "on certain issues the last two years. But in the past weeks I've thought it over. Whatever differences I had, well, let bygones be bygones. Maybe you were right, maybe I was. But both of us are right today on the anti-Hitler issue. I know that. You are doing a job today we cannot afford to ignore. That's how I feel and here's $100 to prove it."

That's from one who has differed with us. And we value his expression greatly. But what about the thousands who have agreed with us? We have so far heard from only 835 of our readers. And we have scores of thousands, who like us, are in the fight for the duration.

What about it, comrades-in-arms?

JOSEPH NORTH,
For the Editors.

NEW MASSES, 461 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C.
Here is my contribution to keep NEW MASSES alive. $ _____
Name and Address: _____

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PRODUCTION FOR INVASION

Claude Cockburn tells of "the greatest thing that's happened to Britain's factories." How production is increasing. The shop stewards speak up for the men at the machines.

London (by cable).

MAKE no mistake about the biggest thing that has happened in Britain these past few days. You have probably had some news of it in your papers. But just to tell the story of what is going on here backward, thus marking the contrasts, we will clear out of the way some other points.

Well, Sir Samuel Hoare is going back to Madrid shortly, it is stated. Franco has asked Britain for another loan, it is stated. The Duke of Alba, Franco's ambassador to London, has gone to Madrid to "arrange for the education of his daughter," it is stated. Spanish warplanes and volunteers are in action against Britain's ally, the Soviet Union, it is stated. Hitler is launching a peace offensive, it is stated. And Churchill stated that any man or state who marches with the Nazis is our enemy. Let's take into account another couple of facts.

For instance, when the authorities here published Lord Gort's report on the BEF's evacuation from France in 1940, there were plenty of newspapers which, by their handling of these reports, seemed to be under the impression that the authorities must have issued the reports when they did, simply and solely to put the damper on the popular, one might say the almost universal, demand for the opening of the western front. It is easy to demonstrate that the authorities could not possibly have had any such notion in mind. For surely the only possible effect of the publication of the report would be to convince the ordinary man that the less we "leave everything to the war office" and the more the public gets down to the business of shoving the experts into doing the obvious thing that has to be done, the less danger there is of another debacle such as Gort so grimly describes.

NOW, I have listed the news of the week in this order not, in point of fact, just out of cussedness, but in order to get the depressing stuff out of the way and into its proper perspective. For in reality none of these events, none of the dirty rumors you hear is a reflection of what is really happening here. True, there is plenty of depressing stuff—that is to say, stuff that would be depressing if you looked at that and nothing else. If anyone sat down in the United States or anywhere else and concentrated his attention on the fact that we have Moore-Brabazon in charge of aircraft production and Captain Margesson, author of the recent notorious article in the London *Star,* as our War Minister, and Sir Horace Wilson at the head of the Treasury—why, then I grant you there would be cause for alarm and despondency.

But do not be overly depressed by these unpleasant facts. We have, nobody denies it, the devil of a long way to go before we are all set for total war, war to the limit, war to victory against Hitlerite Germany. But the point is that these things are only little bits of the picture. Proof? Well, here we have it at last. Proof that there is something like an upheaval going on in the British workshops. Proof that things are happening which are going to tilt the balance of power among the warring nations. . . . And the proof was afforded by the first National Conference of Shop Stewards in the British War Industries meeting at the Stoll Theater, London, on October 19. That was the biggest news of this or any week that you or I need to bother about. I am under a disadvantage because I don't know just how highly the American papers rated the significance of that conference. All I can say is that if they failed to rate it as the biggest thing that has happened at this end of Europe for a whale of a long time, they missed the point of what is going on around here.

WALTER SWANSON, chief of shop stewards at Napiers Aircraft factory, said in his opening speech: "Our conference shall mark such a turning point in Britain's production as shall amaze the whole world." Big words. But look at the facts. Here were 1,237 delegates, men and women, shop stewards all. Look beyond them, and you see 500,000 men and women workers in the armament industry, and 300 key armament factories, shipyards, airplane works, gun works, etc. That is what this conference represented. In case you get the idea that this was just "one of those conferences" let me tell you that this was a conference which marks a drastic, tremendous change in the whole British war effort. From this conference, more than 1,000 delegates will be going, are already going, back to the factories to tell such a story and give such a lead as is literally unique in British industrial history. For in essence what they will be telling—and mind you, millions of people will very soon be acting on their words—is that, terribly late as it is, there is yet time for us—by cooperation everywhere between managements and the workers' organizations; by establishment everywhere of joint production committees; by jettisoning longstanding peacetime trades union practices; by the skilled workers wholeheartedly imparting their skilled knowledge to the millions of women workers who must now be conscripted, really conscripted into industry; by elimination of absenteeism and by elimination of managerial inefficiency—by all this it is possible for us to increase production by a gigantic and really amazing percentage, and at the same time to increase enormously the number of men available for the British army.

A mouthful? Certainly it's a mouthful. But the reports, detailed factual reports at that conference, showed that it can be done, that in many districts it already is being done. There were men there from every important area, every important works. One told of how his co-workers, by establishment of their production committee, had increased production by ten percent in the first fortnight, another of an increase amounting to nearly thirty percent.

There were scores of such stories. There was the story of how a certain firm had an order for ten units of a certain machine for the Soviet Union. The normal production time for such a job would be a minimum of one week. The shop stewards had organized a production committee with the management. The management asked if the men could do it. The shop stewards went to the men, explained just what the goods were and where they were going. The men unanimously agreed to produce the goods in two days instead of seven, asking only the guarantee that if they did it, piece rates on that type of job would not thereafter be cut by the management. The management agreed. The goods were ready in less than two days. And production in that works is going on still faster now.

From the huge aircraft works in the West came a similar story. There too the trouble had been the fear of the skilled men that in the event of their speeding up production, piece rates would be cut. Because of the activity of the production committee a guarantee has been secured that in no case will piece rates be cut and that so far as earnings are concerned the sky's the limit. Production is increasing by leaps and bounds. And those are only a few instances out of very, very many. That is happening all over the country.

I DO NOT NEED to tell you what that means in terms of total production. No wonder that the conference—a conference which unanimously demanded the opening of the western front and the lifting of the ban on the *Daily Worker*—was the big news in the next day's papers. No wonder that the London *Times* wrote of it in an editorial: "Some remarkable things were said yesterday, and the leading official spokesman demanded of every worker the highest example of quality, quantity, and rapidity in production, greater readiness to promote the interchange of labor and substitution of women to release men for the armed forces—indeed a wholly new approach to the problem of output."

This conference is the guarantee to the American workers that at long last the whole weight of Britain's huge industrial resources and unparalleled industrial skill is going to be mobilized against Hitler.

CLAUDE COCKBURN.

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LENINGRAD CALLING

A world-famous musician tells how he composes his symphony in the midst of battle.

Leningrad via Moscow (by cable).

ON THE morning of June 22, I volunteered for service at the front. I received a reply: "You'll be called when required." So I went back to my duties at the Leningrad Conservatory. We attended recitals by members of the graduating class, gave an evaluation of their performances, and signed their diplomas. This year many gifted pianists, violinists, and singers graduated from the Leningrad Conservatory.

I joined the Conservatory Fire-Fighting Brigade. We were housed in barracks and it was here that I began work on my seventh symphony. Later I was asked to become musical director of the Popular Guard Theater. Soon this theater became the center of Leningrad's leading playwrights, poets, and writers. We produced several interesting plays, one of them an operetta on how Ribbentrop gathered his celebrated conference of diplomats shortly after the outbreak of the war. One after the other groups of actors from our theater left for the front. And when some of them returned they brought with them the splendid fighting spirit of our army. I visited frontline units on two occasions and witnessed numerous instances of the courage that typifies our people. Simple people, men you meet everyday, turned out to be real heroes.

Take, for example, Danya Shafran, member of the Popular Guard, who saw some very heavy fighting and showed distinguished valor. One of my pupils, Fleischman, who has just finished his first one-act opera, was always very modest and inconspicuous in the conservatory. But now in these trying days he proved worthy of his country. And my seventh symphony (I am working on it now) will tell of these so-called simple people.

The first part of the symphony tells of the happy, peaceful life of a people confident in themselves and in their future. It is a simple life, such as was enjoyed by thousands of Leningrad's Popular Guards, by the whole city, and the whole country before the war broke out. Then comes the war. I have made no attempt at naturalistic interpretation of the war by imitating booms of cannon, shell, explosions, etc. I tried to give an emotional image of the war. The reprise is a memorial march, or more correctly a requiem for the war's victims. Plain people pay tribute to the memory of their heroes. The requiem is followed by an even more tragic theme. I don't know how to describe it. Perhaps it is the tears of a mother or even that feeling which comes when sorrow is so great that there are no more tears. These two lyrical fragments form the conclusion of the first part of the symphony. The closing chords resemble the din of distant battle, a reminder that the war continues.

While I was working on this music, Leningrad was converted into an impregnable fortress. Fresh Popular Guard detachments were constantly being formed. The entire population learned the art of warfare and it seemed that war had replaced all other affairs. I found, however, that that was not so, for one of my friends told me that all tickets for the Philharmonic concerts had been sold out. Indeed at all these concerts I found the audience in high spirits and keenly responsive to our performance. My excitement at these concerts was something new, for I came to understand that music, as every art, is a genuine requirement of man.

My work on the symphony continued at a rapid pace. I finished the second and third parts in a surprisingly short space

of time. Generally speaking, I do not like to hurry with my work, but on this symphony I worked with a speed that I myself couldn't understand. When I am through with it, I will have to start from the beginning, of course, for it still requires much polishing and work over details. But as I was writing the score, I didn't think of this aspect. The second and third parts of the symphony aren't closely bound to the main theme. They serve as a lyrical relief. The second part of the symphony is a lyrical scherzo. The third part, adagio, is the dramatic center of the symphony.

It is with a feeling of admiration and pride that I watch the heroic deeds of Leningrad's people. Despite frequent air-raid alarms, everyone goes about his work with precision and efficiency. People are calm and life continues normally. Factories and offices successfully cope with the rush orders. Theaters are as active as ever and give the people that spiritual encouragement which helps them in their work at the front or rear. Everyone shares the common cause and strives for a common aim. Wives and mothers don't complain. They show every concern for the menfolk at the front and they themselves help to guard the city and fight fires. Even the children are doing their bit to help strengthen Leningrad's defenses.

I have still to write the finale of the symphony but its general outlines are already clear to me. I could describe it with one word—*victory*. This finale is devoted to a happy life in the future after the enemy will be crushed. Never have I dedicated any of my works. But this symphony, if my work meets with success, I intend to dedicate to Leningrad. Every note in it, everything I have put into it is linked up with my native city, with these historic days of its defense against the fascist barbarians.

DIMITRI SHOSTAKOVICH.

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BE TOUGH WITH TOJO

What the Japanese Cabinet changes mean. The approaching showdown in Japanese-American relations. Letting them know that encroachment on Soviet Siberia, Siam, or the East Indies means war.

FOR the fourth time in little more than two years, the rulers of Japan have been compelled to change their Cabinet. Usually such a change has come about on the heels of some basic turn in world affairs. Usually Japan was unprepared for the turn, or had little responsibility in bringing it about. She was therefore compelled to find new men, or new combinations of men to adapt herself to conditions created by stronger powers.

Such was the case in August 1939, when the Soviet-German non-aggression pact forced the ministry of Baron Hiranuma to resign. Such was also the case in July 1940, when France capitulated. Prince Fumimaro Konoye, Japan's most authoritative civilian statesman, was entrusted with the effort to extract the maximum advantage from the French defeat. Indo-China was occupied and relations with Germany strengthened by the tripartite alliance of September 1940.

AGAIN THIS PAST JUNE Japan had to react to the Nazi assault on the USSR. Unable or unwilling to risk an attack on the Soviet Union together with Hitler, unable to settle the war in China by treachery or force of arms, unable to take over the Dutch East Indies in the face of strong British and American pressure, Japan's position was steadily deteriorating. A new combination of ministers tried to tackle the job. And after ten days of feverish conference, Konoye formed another Cabinet. Now, only three months after, Prince Konoye himself is compelled to admit defeat. A new ministry, composed wholly of military and naval men under General Tojo, takes over the reins.

It is, however, significant that this time Germany has not accomplished enough for Japan to take advantage of; yet Japan cannot wait much longer to see what Germany can accomplish. Moscow has not fallen, and may not fall. Even if it did, every world capital realizes that the Soviet Union remains a mighty and decisive factor in the war. And even if troops are shifted from the Soviet Far East, that region remains a formidable obstacle for Japan. China's united front still leaves much to be desired, but there are no signs of capitulation in Chungking. American supplies have at last begun to flow; China's armies have shown their ability to take Changsha and Japan is still getting nowhere at all. Britain has likewise been strengthened in these last months. Her defenses at Burma and Singapore are on the alert and in his speech of August 24, Churchill made it clear that in a Japanese-American conflict, the British would be ranged "unhesitatingly on the side of the United States."

In other words, while it is true that the Japanese are deriving a certain psychological advantage from the difficulties of the Soviet position, the main reason for their change of Cabinet lies in the fact that their own drive for conquest impels them onward faster than international conditions are changing. And they are not at all certain that conditions are changing in their own favor. It is only in America's attitude that Japan could hope to find some solution for her dilemma. For among all the powers, only Japan's policy and our own remain not fully defined.

Since mid-August it has been known that negotiations were proceeding between Washington and Tokyo. They have been secret negotiations, but what the Japanese have wanted is quite clear: a relaxation of our restrictions on Japanese trade and funds; cessation of our shipments to the USSR via Vladivostok; if at all possible, the recognition of Japan's "special interests" in China. Some newspapers in Tokyo have even been chattering about an American partnership with Japan in controlling the Far East. At a minimum, therefore, Japan wishes to continue getting our supplies; at a maximum, she hopes for large scale appeasement.

The United States, on the other hand, has wished to stave off further Japanese aggression threatening either Soviet Siberia or the preserves of tin and rubber and other materials on which we absolutely depend for our rearmament. The United States has wished to gain time in order to clarify relations with Britain and the Soviet Union in Europe without being forced into action in the Far East. We have wished to find some way of releasing our Pacific fleet for action in the Atlantic. We have been guided by the principle that if Germany could be defeated in Europe, Germany's partner in the Far East would be forced to come to terms.

Apparently these negotiations have gotten nowhere or else have been moving too slowly for Japan. Despite appeasement forces in the State Department, it is definitely against American national interest to abandon China, to injure the USSR in the Far East, or to hand over the Dutch East Indies. It can be assumed that the decisive forces in American policy have made that clear. This means that the contradiction of our interests and Japan's is very profound, and far-reaching. There are valid motives for an effort to reach some agreement but Japan's will-to-aggression makes a clear-cut settlement impossible.

Yet Japan cannot wait. Hitler cannot wait either and his agents have been pressing Japan for action. Within Japan itself, a conflict has raged on the best strategy to be pursued in a difficult situation and the pro-Axis forces have been vocal and strong. According to the October issue of *Amerasia,* "At the current rate of consumption, Japan will have used up her present reserves of oil and gasoline by March 1942, and her stocks of imported iron and steel scrap by the end of 1941." The silk industry is faced with operations at a quarter capacity through the loss of the American market. The national debt has already exceeded 33,000,000,000 yen, which is larger than Japan's entire national income, and the debt is increasing 1,000,000,000 yen each month.

This explains why the militarists have come into open power. They have indicated their desire to continue negotiations with the United States, but the mere fact that Konoye, who was also negotiating, is displaced has only one meaning: namely that if no satisfactory settlement is reached, Japan intends to challenge the United States. General Tojo and his Foreign Minister Togo, as well as most other figures in the Cabinet, have long been identified with strong antagonism to Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. Tojo was once in command of the Kwantung armies, the notorious Manchurian anti-Soviet forces. Togo was Minister in Berlin and represented Japan in Moscow during Japan's most anti-Soviet period. The fact that Tojo, who was War Minister in Konoye's Cabinet, has been elevated to the premiership is itself unusual; the fact that he retains active army command while assuming a civilian post is also a peculiar Japanese way of making the Mikado's intentions unmistakable.

ALL THIS MEANS that America faces a decision, perhaps not immediately but certainly before long. And since the Japanese will probably wish to have the advantage of surprise when they act, it is well that the United States make its own decisions in advance and out loud. In making up our minds, we must remember one thing: while it is true that we would rather not become involved in a Far Eastern war when the decisive theater is in Europe, it would be far more disastrous for our national interest both in Europe and in the Far East to let Japan make another move in any direction. It would be fatal to permit Japan to encroach on Siberia, on Siam, or the Dutch East Indies, not to mention the Philippines. It would be fatal to reduce in any way our help for China.

What the State Department must realize is what the American people have instinctively recognized, namely that this is *one, world war.* Our most powerful and decisive blows must be struck in Europe, where they are already long overdue. But if it comes to a choice between striking a blow in the Far East or not striking one at all—that is, letting the Axis get away with it again—the choice must be for striking a blow.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

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WE CAN BEAT INFLATION

How to achieve maximum armaments production without runaway prices. Methods of control through the enactment of strong legislation and comprehensive planning of war output. Curbing speculation and profiteering.

THE fear of inflation is a genuine one. It is well justified by the trend of economic events since the outbreak of the present war and particularly since the attainment of a relatively major level of armament production by American industry during the past few months. The prices of major commodities have increased twenty-five percent on the average since the first of this year, and are now at a level roughly fifty percent higher than in August 1939, on the eve of the Nazi invasion of Poland. The Bureau of Labor Statistics' index of all wholesale prices is now some ten percent higher than in February of this year and almost twenty percent above August 1939. And the cost of living, which is the ultimate gauge of inflation from the standpoint of the public, has turned upward by five percent since March, according to the official indexes. In many of the items which absorb the budget of American workers and white collar families, the rise has been much sharper.

The ominous implication of these statistics, moreover, is that from now on the cost of living will tend to increase at a progressively faster rate as the higher level of basic commodities and wholesale goods is translated into correspondingly higher retail prices. This prospect is naturally a matter of serious concern to trade unions. It is also agitating official circles in Washington because of the possible repercussions of a sharp price inflation upon public morale and upon the cost of the defense program itself. That agitation has been reflected publicly in the belated introduction of the Henderson price control bill, which is still bogged down in Congress, and in the outcropping of numerous panaceas for the prevention of inflation. But there is also apparent in certain Washington circles a tendency to accept a substantial degree of inflation as the inevitable companion of the transition to wartime economy.

Before attempting to explode some of the fallacies of that defeatist assumption, the nature of inflation should first be clarified. What confronts us now is not of the same order as the most extreme type of inflation, i.e., direct inflation of the currency in which a government resorts to unlimited issuance of paper money and which culminates ultimately in total dissipation of the buying power of the original currency. The danger today is of a sharp and more or less permanent rise in the price structure. In capitalist economies, inflation of the price structure is a much more typical wartime pattern than the "printing press" inflation resorted to by Germany two decades ago. It was experienced by the so-called victor nations during and after the first world war. As late as 1926, the cost of living in England was seventy percent higher than in 1914 and retail food prices were sixty-one percent higher. In France retail food prices in 1926 were 454 percent higher than in 1914, while the average of all wholesale prices was 595 percent or almost seven times above the pre-war level. Even the United States, with its relatively brief and limited participation in that conflict and despite the large growth in its capital resources from war manufacturing profiteering, experienced a rise of 100 percent in the cost of living between 1914 and 1920. In fact, it required the catastrophic crisis of 1929-33 to liquidate even any large part of the price inflation which occurred here during the last war years.

THESE ARE COLD FIGURES, but they carry a very incisive meaning in terms of people. The basic meaning of inflation is a lower standard of living. At no time during an inflationary period do the money wages of the great mass of the people increase as rapidly as the prices of goods, and this is particularly true during the early phase of such a movement. So the money wages of individual consumers can buy less food, less shelter, fewer clothes, less of everything that must be paid for across the counter.

There are only two groups which can adequately protect themselves against loss from inflation. One is made up of the owners of large amounts of productive property, such as factories and mines. During inflation, the value of such property tends to increase proportionately to the rise in the price structure and, by raising the prices charged for the products of such property faster than costs of materials and labor increase, profits can be maintained, although the market is ultimately contracted by the restriction in consumer purchasing power. Those who gain in a big way from inflation, however, are the large scale speculators who can buy productive property on borrowed money at the start of an inflationary movement and ride up on the price boom until the sale of only part of their holdings will be sufficient to pay off all of their debt, leaving them with ownership of the balance of the property.

It is this kind of inflation which threatens us today. The causes of wartime inflation, however, are more important than the mere description of the phenomena. And still more vital is the question whether a price inflation, rivaling that of 1914-19 in severity, will be the inevitable accompaniment of our expanding production of armaments during the coming months or years.

Orthodox economists have assorted definitions of the causes of inflation. One of the most concise was recently propounded by E. A. Goldenweiser, economist for the Federal Reserve Board. Said Dr. Goldenweiser: "Inflation occurs when the volume of money actively bidding for goods and services increases faster than the available supply of goods and services."

True enough, but hardly very concrete and still more descriptive than explanatory. Other New Deal economists put the situation in more tangible terms. On the one hand, the aggregate purchasing power in the hands of consumers is expanding, in reflection of increased employment, longer working hours, some wage increases, bigger farm income, and larger profits and dividends. The rise in purchasing power has been unevenly distributed among the population but its total effect is illustrated by the increase in estimated national income to a current annual rate substantially over $80,000,000,000 from $70.6 billions in 1939, with further expansion anticipated in the future.

On the other hand, the proportion of the total national industrial capacity which is available for producing consumers' goods is being steadily reduced by the necessary diversion of productive facilities to the production of armaments. Hence, the potential situation is one of a greatly expanded national purchasing power bidding for a reduced supply of consumers' goods. In short, according to this view, the dilemma so neatly summarized by Dr. Goldenweiser is approaching and must lead inevitably to a price inflation unless the spendable national income is sharply reduced.

There are, in the opinion of this writer, a number of practical, sound alternative steps by which that dilemma can be avoided or, at the worst, resolved without undergoing a disastrous price inflation. But before exploring those steps, one observation is in order. This observation is prompted by many loose comparisons of today's situation with 1917. It is necessary to consider the many differences, as well as the similarities, between

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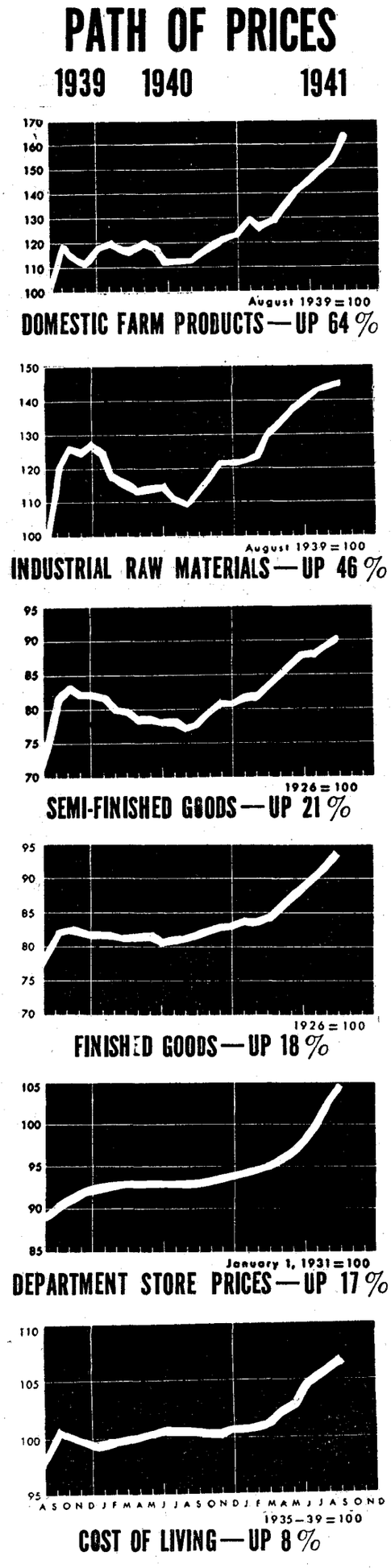
the economic status of the United States in 1941 and 1917 before becoming resigned to a duplication today of the 1917-19 price inflation. It is true that the American inflation during the first world war was caused in large degree by the abject failure of the Wilson administration to forestall runaway prices and widespread profiteering. The unprecedented crop of war millionaires was an accurate measure of that failure. But it is also true that the underlying difficulties of preventing inflation were much more formidable in 1917 than they are today.

In early 1917 American industry was operating at practically capacity levels. There was little unemployment. There were no surplus food stocks, since large quantities of agricultural supplies were being shipped to Europe. Consequently the entrance of this country into the war necessarily involved sharp curtailment of production for civilian consumption. Increased armament production, increased demands for both labor and materials in armament factories, and the diversion of millions of workers into military service could add up to no other answer under those conditions.

Contrast the situation today. Fifteen months ago the United States entered the present period of intensified armaments production with a minimum of 10,000,000 unemployed and with a highly developed industrial plant which was operating far below ultimate capacity. Today, after an expansion of roughly one-third in total industrial output, and after drafting 1,000,000 men into the armed services, there remain at least five to six million unemployed and substantial reserve capacity in many lines of industry. Furthermore, with the European market cut off, American agriculture is still producing "surpluses" in relation to the current consumption of most agricultural products.

All of which points to the crucial position of total production and supply in relation to any program for preventing inflation. At the outset, let it be understood that *the imperative requirement today—and until the defeat of Hitler—is to increase American output of armaments.* First things come first, and any obstacle to expanded military supplies for the Red Army, for Britain and China, and for the American armed forces themselves must be removed. If and when civilian consumption as a whole or the consumption of any specific articles constitutes such an obstacle, then civilian consumption must be curtailed. But it should also be understood that neither is inflation an aid to armament production, but rather a detriment because of the added costs, economic dislocations, and impaired civilian morale which follow in its trail.

There are within easy reach a number of positive methods of inflation control, methods which would not only check the present planless slide into an inflationary movement, but would also *help expand the production of armaments.* These methods fall into two principal categories:


PATH OF PRICES
1939 1940 1941
August 1939 = 100
DOMESTIC FARM PRODUCTS—UP 64%
August 1939 = 100
INDUSTRIAL RAW MATERIALS—UP 46%
1926 = 100
SEMI-FINISHED GOODS—UP 21%
1926 = 100
FINISHED GOODS—UP 18%
January 1, 1931 = 100
DEPARTMENT STORE PRICES—UP 17%
A S O N D J F M A M J J A S O N D J F M A M J J A S O N D
1935–39 = 100
COST OF LIVING—UP 8%

1. A program of full mobilization and distribution of the enormous industrial resources of the United States. This involves aggressive government action to expand production by intensified subcontracting of armament orders, by wide scale use of substitutes in civilian industries competing for war materials, by breaking the bottleneck in the output of basic materials monopolized at their source by certain corporations (aluminum is a case in point), and by measures to assure the full utilization of all available labor power. This program also involves the strict rationing of strategic materials to achieve maximum defense production in a minimum of time. The establishment of genuine good neighbor relations with the Latin American republics would make it possible to jointly mobilize and ration the resources not only of the United States, but of the entire western hemisphere.

2. Enactment of strong legislation giving the federal government unquestioned power to fix and regulate the price of all manufactured products at their source, supported by power to confiscate manufacturing establishments which violate official price schedules. The Henderson bill should be passed, with strengthening amendments to cover all rents and assure democratic administration through local bodies on which labor, consumers, farmers and merchants would be represented. At the same time the income tax laws should be revised to siphon off into the federal treasury speculative profits as well as excess manufacturing profits.

THESE TWO BROAD APPROACHES to the problem are in many respects interlocking. Perhaps the best immediate evidence of the crying need for effective price controls and for an effective blackout of speculation is supplied by the fact that thus far the incipent inflationary boom in prices has been almost exclusively the result of speculation and profiteering. That is to say, actual shortages of materials have had little or nothing to do with the rise in prices up to date. For example, the increase of eight percent in the average wholesale price of chemicals between February and early August cannot be excused on any allegation of scarcity. The same may be said for the increase of ten percent in the average wholesale price of fuels during the same period, or for the thirteen percent rise in textile prices, or the eight percent rise in average wholesale prices for leather products. The real meaning of these price increases is simply that commodity speculators and manufacturers have been exploiting a sharp expansion in the demand for those products, without regard for the actual or potential capacity to supply that demand. While the occurrence of such exploitation is doubly inexcusable during an emergency period such as this, the mere fact that no true shortages have been involved indicates how easily the situation could be corrected, provided adequate powers exist in the government and an adequate will to use such powers.

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A wrong approach to the problem of preventing inflation is exemplified by the recently enacted tax bill. This places the major burden on low and medium incomes and on many articles of consumption while only scraping the surface of huge corporation profits. The masses of the people must necessarily make their share of whatever sacrifices are necessary for national defense, but these increased taxes on the lower brackets are neither necessary at the present time for financing the defense program nor are they a sound method of checking inflation. For the curtailment of purchasing power, while it may cause some reduction in the demand for goods which compete with defense production, primarily affects the ability of the average family to buy food (in which there is no shortage), pay rent, etc. This tends to lower the physical well-being of the people and thus undermine both production and morale. Nor is the restriction of installment credit a feasible approach to the inflation problem. The series of regulations promulgated for this purpose by Chairman Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board merely have the effect of rationing the available supply of consumers' goods in favor of those with ample funds.

In considering price control legislation one proposal should definitely be ruled out: a ceiling on wages. The theory behind this proposal is that wage increases are a major factor in rising prices and that price control will therefore be nullified unless wages are included. This theory runs completely counter to fact. As Isador Lubin, commissioner of Labor Statistics, pointed out to the House Banking and Currency Committee last week, net labor costs have risen only 1.2 percent since 1936, while net prices of wholesale goods have increased twenty percent, raw materials, thirty percent, and durable goods, 11.2 percent. The fact is that the large corporations could easily pay higher wages and still make handsome profits without raising prices.

No discussion of prices or of price controls would be complete without consideration of the role of farm commodities. During the incipient price boom of the past seven months, the sharpest rises among the principal groups of commodities have been the seventeen percent increase in the average wholesale price of farm products and the fifteen percent advance in average wholesale food prices. The effect of these advances, however, has merely been to correct part of the previous disparity between the price level for farm products and the price level for industrial goods. Even today, average wholesale prices for farm products in general and for foods in particular remain seventeen percent and fifteen percent, respectively, below 1929 levels whereas all other wholesale prices (representing mainly industrial goods) are within two percent of the 1929 average. In other words, to the extent that the recent uptrend in prices for agricultural products has resulted in partially equalizing the economic position of the basic producers of farm products, the rise can be considered well justified and free from true inflationary implications.

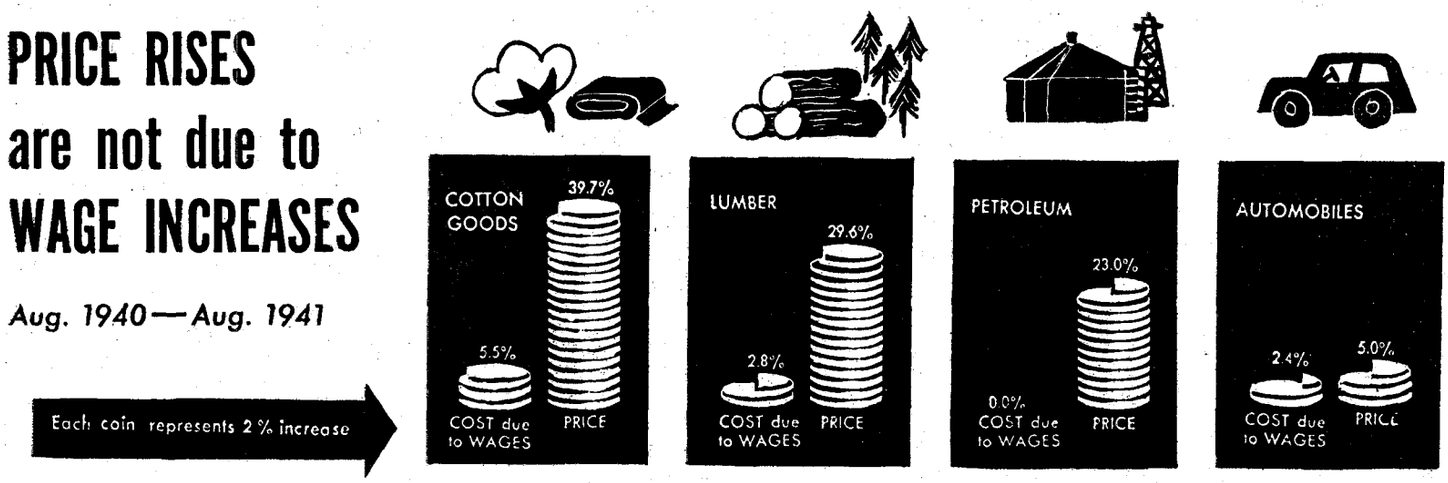
But there are a number of important reservations which must be made in this regard. For one thing, farm products have always been notoriously a plaything for speculators, with the result that the benefits of higher prices have usually gone largely to the speculators rather than to the producers, while the penalties of low prices have usually been shared in reverse fashion. There is considerable evidence that this traditional pattern is not being broken during the current situation. For another thing, food prices have notoriously been controlled in the interests of the Wall Street dominated processors rather than in the interests of the producers. And, finally, certain large "corporate" farmers are likewise seeking selfish gain. For example, the efforts of speculators and of corporate farmers, operating through their spokesmen in Congress, to prevent the government from utilizing its large stocks of cotton and grain is clearly an effort to create an artificially tight market situation which would be of little benefit to the great majority of American farmers and of serious detriment to the position of the American people as a whole.

All this is injurious to the national defense. What is needed is an all-out program of farm production not only for the home front, but for the anti-Hitler fronts everywhere. To assure this requires reasonable prices to the farmers and federal aid to the majority of them, with a minimum of speculative manipulation of prices and exploitation of profit margins by the large scale food processors. Particularly under a wartime economy, those conditions can be met only by vigorous governmental control of prices and vigorous suppression of speculation and profiteering.

The point of all the preceding remarks on prices is that the incipient inflationary movement of the past few months is primarily artificial in character and hence can readily be corrected, provided the administration and Congress take the necessary measures. In many respects, the price movement of the past few months is similar to the unjustified price boom of late 1936 and early 1937, which was easily punctured by President Roosevelt in his most active New Deal manner. Unfortunately, the future outlook for production and prices is not quite as simple. Actually the nation is now entering into a shortage period, which will present much more ominous implications from an inflationary point of view than the artificial boosting of prices which has characterized the past few months. We are confronted by the anomaly of so-called "priorities" unemployment and factory shutdowns in civilian industries long before maximum production and employment has been attained in the armament industries.

THE PRIMARY CAUSE of the impending shortages is a bottleneck in basic metals. Paradoxically, whereas the prices of metals have shown very little increase during the past months when most other prices have been rising, the existence of the metals bottleneck is the most potent inflationary danger now on the horizon. And its history during the past fifteen months in relation to other production trends merits thorough exploration.

It goes without saying that metals are the basic material of modern mechanized warfare, as well as the basic material of mod-



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ern industrialized society. The manner in which the basic sources of metals have been controlled by certain corporations during the past fifteen emergency months is in large degree the cause of the present crucial problems of production and supply, both of armaments and of civilian goods. Despite the concentration of armament contracts in the hands of the biggest manufacturers, despite the lag in sub-contracting, and despite such incidents as capital's "sit-down strike" during the summer of 1940 to secure tax concessions and relaxation of profit limitations, there has been a very substantial increase in the output of American armaments and hence in the output of metal consuming industries since the fall of France. While much more is needed, the figures do disclose a big expansion.

According to the production indexes of the Federal Reserve Board, the output of various representative industries in which metal-consuming armament output is concentrated showed the following increase in June over June 1940, and June 1929:

	Percent Increase in Output Over	
	June 1940	June 1929
All durable manufacturers	44	32
Machinery	69	60
Aircraft	142	*
Shipbuilding	142	314
Railroad cars	95	42

* Output negligible in 1929.

These increases are typical of those which have occurred throughout the metal *consuming* industries, partly in reflection of increased civilian requirements but mostly in reflection of the initial needs of the armament program. The increases are also typical of the great advance in metal consumption by those industries. With these statistics as background, the cause of the impending metal shortage is eloquently disclosed by the comparable output trend in the metal *producing* industries, likewise based on the Federal Reserve indexes:

	Percent Increase in Output Over	
	June 1940	June 1929
Iron and steel	18	18
Copper production	9	*6
Lead production	0	*31
Zinc production	29	18

* Decrease.

In short, the impact of war, of defense, and of the world-wide fight against Hitler has made little or no impression on American output of the most essential military raw materials.

The reasons for this bottleneck in metals follow the same familiar basic outline in each of the industries involved, an outline which has much more to do with unrestricted monopoly control of metals production than with actual capacity or ultimate resources. The scandalous effort of the Mellon's aluminum trust to sabotage necessary expansion in production of that metal in order to protect its 100 percent monopoly is well known by this time. While that effort is now being gradually and partially overcome by governmental intervention, the result has been delays in delivery of aluminum essential for aircraft production and a complete cut-off of civilian use of the metal.

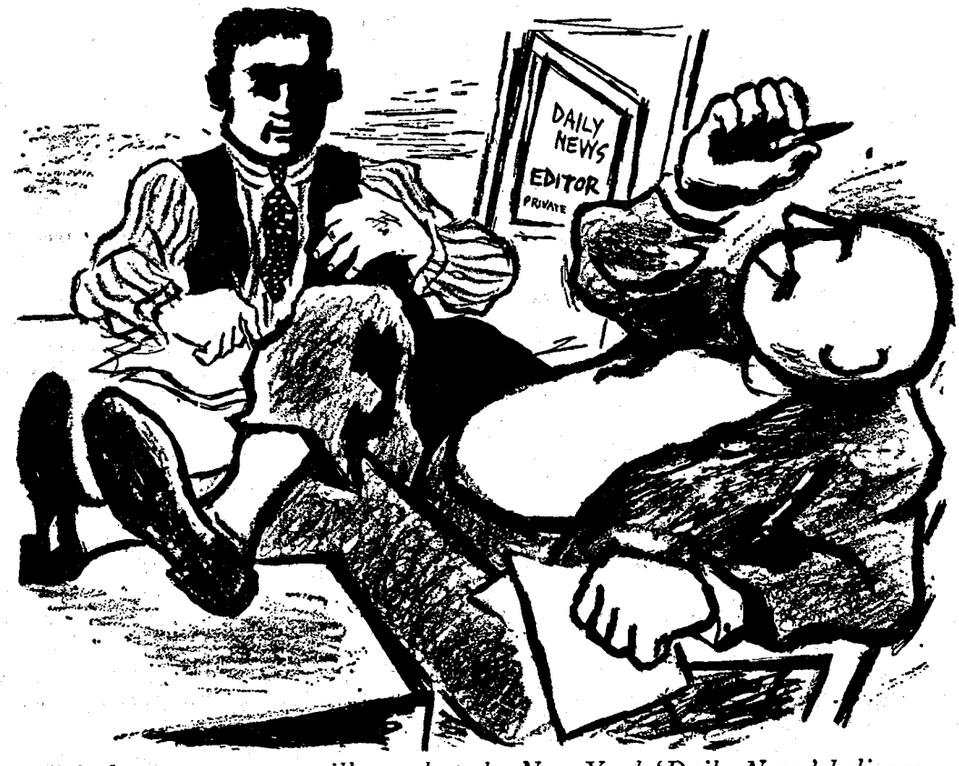
In the much broader field of steel, the same characteristic pattern is apparent. Since the outset of the defense emergency, the steel industry has resisted necessary expansion in capacity lest the traditional framework of restricted production and monopoly prices for steel be shattered during the post-war period. With the support of certain key dollar-a-year men in the Office of Production Management, this resistance was completely successful for many months. Finally, there have been plans drawn for an expansion of ten to fifteen million tons in annual steel capacity but these still exist primarily on paper.

In copper, the dominant mining groups, controlled in large part by the Morgan and Guggenheim interests, have refused to bring their high cost mines into operation unless the government agrees to a sharp increase in copper price or grants a large subsidy. While OPM officials have talked for months of steps to bring the idle copper mining capacity into operation, nothing has been done. The result has been such situations as that now existing in the Michigan copper fields where thirteen out of nineteen copper mines have been shut down throughout the defense emergency period. Consequently, domestic production has continued to run well below capacity levels against a background of developing shortages. The same paradox of idle capacity despite constantly increasing demand is apparent in lead and zinc, the output of which is largely controlled by the same interests which dominate the copper industry.

The metals bottleneck can, however, be broken and must be broken if our country's independence and security are to be successfully defended. Breaking the metals bottleneck would also check the danger of inflation and the needless unemployment which would be by-products of such shortages. In the case of copper, zinc, and lead, the government could quickly alleviate the problem by forcing idle mines into production, either by lease or by confiscation. In steel, the situation is somewhat more complicated since new facilities must be constructed in order to increase production much above current levels. But it clearly would be preferable to force the immediate start of expansion projects even at the risk of temporarily aggravating civilian shortages of iron and steel products rather than to waive such action and thus permit both defense and civilian shortages to accumulate eventually on a much huger scale.

To carry through the puncturing of the metals bottleneck and the other proposals made here, requires the cooperation of all who want to safeguard our country and assure the smashing defeat of Hitlerism and its American allies. Even many representatives of monopoly have begun to realize the necessity for removing all obstacles to a total effort. What is still not yet understood in both business and government circles is the importance of tapping organized labor's immense fund of practical knowledge through enlisting its full partnership in the management of the defense program. It is through the pooling of many minds and wills that inflation can be prevented, that every problem of production can be solved, and our country quickly converted into a full and powerful participant in the world fight against Hitlerism.

ROBERT O. WINTERS.



"And tomorrow you will say that the New York 'Daily News' believes Hitler means no harm."

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LATIN AMERICA FACES THE AXIS

How the lands south of the Rio Grande are handling Hitler's agents. The discoveries of widespread Nazi plots. What the United States can do to aid its neighbors.

Montevideo (by mail).

THE transformations of the world political scene in the past three months have inevitably caused major shifts in Latin American political allegiances and alliances. After two years, during which the great majority of our neighbors to the south looked with sullen suspicion at the efforts of both American and Nazi spokesmen to win them to one or another side, the United States now has an opportunity to ally itself with the Latin American peoples as well as with their governments.

The attack on the USSR convinced many that the war is now their immediate concern, that they would come into the direct line of conquest if the USSR were defeated. Revelations of Nazi espionage and preparations for armed putsches, which have been coming to light in almost every country, have made this even plainer. The expressions of solidarity with the Soviets advanced by Roosevelt and Churchill, plus the Moscow Conference, have done much to convince Latin Americans of the potential power of the anti-Nazi front.

Yet it is not fully clear how far our own government, particularly certain elements in the State Department, is prepared to take advantage of the changing trends in Latin America. We are the strongest power in the hemisphere, the reservoir of industrial strength which the other peoples rely upon; we are today an almost exclusive outlet for their raw materials. We are therefore in a position to cooperate effectively with the peoples of Latin America, to help them weaken the position of native dictators, pro-Nazi elements, and anti-Sovieteers who are in any case unreliable allies in the task of defending the hemisphere. The United States can accomplish this by gaining the confidence of the Latin American peoples —which requires much more than simply the efforts of the Rockefeller Commission.

Take Vargas' ramshackle empire in Brazil. Vargas is too completely dependent on economic support from the United States to dare to enlist in Hitler's campaign openly, but his manipulation of the Brazilian press makes his sympathies very plain. Brazilian papers have been printing German communiques and speeches in full, but have been forbidden to print Soviet communiques, or the speeches of Soviet leaders.

The most pro-Allied Brazilian dailies have dared do no more than state editorially that Hitler is insincere in his claim to be a crusader against Bolshevism. But pro-Nazi journalists have been permitted to make statements such as the following, by Wladimir Bernardes in *Gaceta de Noticias:*

"Hitler . . . saw that the Russian colossus of deceit was preparing to attack the only bulwark of Christian civilization in Europe. . . . The fate of the world depends on whether Hitler or his impenitent enemies win. Either life under order and discipline, founded on principles of lofty, collective morality, or death, misery, burning, and looting as in Red Spain, according to Communist custom."

Perhaps it was for his services in permitting such themes to be published that Lourival Fontes, chief of the Department of Press and Propaganda, was recently given a dinner at the German Embassy in Rio de Janeiro.

It is only fair to assume that the fascist sympathies of Vargas, who has made the Communist bogey his chief stock-in-trade since he seized control of Brazil, have not been weakened by recent events. Like Petain and Franco, Vargas is a feeble tyrant who feels his power tremble at a victory of progressive forces anywhere. Brazil is a refuge for Nazi agents expelled from other countries. Gustav Sanstede, Gestapo agent who recently fled from Argentina, spent many weeks in Rio. And Fritz Wiedemann, the notorious ex-consul of San Francisco, received similar hospitality. The Italian LATI airline, which still operates a transatlantic service to Rio, is the most direct avenue of communication between the German government and its South American agents. LATI is getting increasing attention from the US government as the one route by which platinum, industrial diamonds, crystals, and other strategic materials can reach Germany from this hemisphere. Vargas may be forced to cancel its contract. But the congratulatory letters which Roosevelt and Vargas recently exchanged on Brazil's Independence Day do not hide the fact that our government's continued benevolence toward the Vargas regime is very dangerous.

ANOTHER key country in Latin America is Argentina. A congressional investigating committee, headed by Radical Deputy Damonte Taborda, after beginning very much like the Dies committee, has in recent months turned the spotlight on the Nazis. It has dug up evidence of an illegal Nazi party organization with 65,000 members, directed, financed, and supplied with bales of propaganda by the German Embassy. German diplomatic packages were searched, and a shortwave radio transmitter, for which the embassy had no apparent legal use, was found. The investigators became interested in the activities of one Gottfried Sanstede, press attache at the German Embassy, who was reputed to be the Argentine chief of the Gestapo.

While Buenos Aires police were searching for him, Sanstede fled to the more friendly climate of Rio de Janeiro. Two specially remarkable documents were found: one was a list of 3,000 Jewish and anti-Nazi Argentinians whom the German Embassy desired that native Nazis keep under observation. The second was a letter to party members by a Nazi leader, declaring that police measures against the Nazis had been undertaken only as gestures to secure commercial concessions from the United States. This letter implied that high Argentine officials sympathetic to the Third Reich would keep the investigation from going too far.

The Castillo administration (Ramon Castillo is acting president in view of Roberto Ortiz' illness) has remained obstinately silent in regard to these revelations. Minister of the Interior Culaciatti has concentrated instead on attacking the Radical Party of Cordoba Province for continuing to permit the Communists to function. Acting President Castillo has even ignored an appeal by the four most influential newspapers of Buenos Aires: *La Nacion, La Prensa, El Mundo,* and *La Critica,* to declare German Ambassador von Thermann *persona non grata.*

The period of confusion among Argentine democrats and progressives which followed the collapse of a mass campaign for the return of Ortiz to the presidency has ended, however. All parties except the extreme right are uniting on the anti-Nazi issue, and Castillo must either bow to the current or face complete isolation. The Chamber of Deputies is now discussing the investigating committee's report. A Radical resolution (the Argentine Radicals are the chief opposition to the ruling National Democrats) has been offered condemning the German ambassador von Thermann and demanding that he be expelled from Argentina. It is expected to win by a heavy majority, with many even of the National Democrats voting for it.

The attempt of the administration to crush demonstrations of opinion on the war by police violence has also failed. A series of open air meetings in support of Britain and the USSR drew nearly half a million Argentinians. One gathering at Luna Park in Buenos Aires had an audience of 50,000. The intransigeantly anti-Communist position of the Argentine Socialist Party is weakening. Its paper, *Vanguardia,* recently printed an editorial attacking the police for their persecution of one section of the labor movement. Radicals, Socialists, and Communists are participating in a campaign for aid to the Soviet Red Cross.

This was the picture in Argentina until the sensational commotion in the Air Force, in the last part of September. Gen. Angel Zuloaga, the commander-in-chief, was forced to resign, and the officers in charge of the Cordoba Military Aviation School and the Parana Air Base were arrested. Castillo played down the importance of the "seditious movement" involved, specifically denied that it had anything to do with the international situation, and blamed it on elements in the Radical Party. But the

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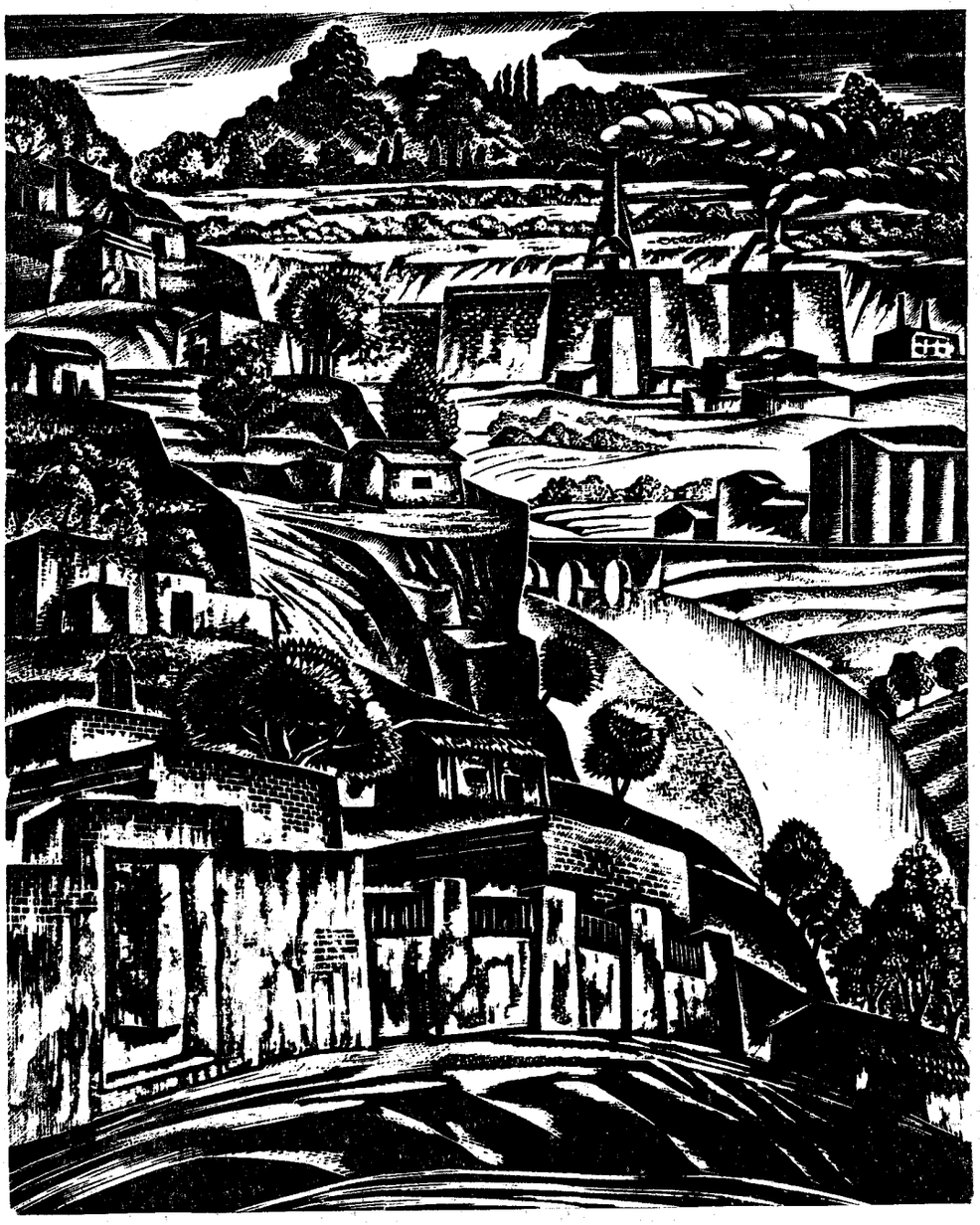
truth is that the officers involved were probably fascists—there are numbers of them in the Argentine army—and it seems likely that Castillo thought it best, or was forced by other members of his Cabinet or his party to take action on the Nazi-inspired sedition.

It is very significant, however, that Castillo has carefully avoided taking any credit for an anti-Nazi move, as almost any other Latin American president would have done, if only to please the United States. Moreover, Castillo's action itself was altogether on too small a scale to crush the continued Nazi plotting in the army. Government leniency to many known Nazis in the army, such as Gen. Benjamin Menendez and Gen. Juan Bautista Molina, chief of the outlawed Alliance of Nationalist Youth, has had a bad effect on army discipline.

So much for the reluctance of the Castillo government to clean out the Nazis. But equally alarming is the autocratic trend within Argentine politics. In an exclusive interview for *El Pampero,* Castillo recently stated that he did not intend to call another session of Congress, but might govern by decree for an indefinite period. *El Pampero* is the most openly Nazi paper in Argentina; its editor is constantly being arrested for libel. That Castillo should make such a declaration in such a paper indicates that he may defy the democratic and anti-Nazi movement in Argentina even more openly than at present.

In the last few days Castillo dissolved the Buenos Aires Municipal Council, which had a Radical majority, on charges of fraud, and arbitrarily appointed a council of his own followers. Most of the Buenos Aires newspapers have attacked this action. After his repeated refusals to do anything about election frauds committed by his own party, or to guarantee free elections in Buenos Aires province this December (the city itself is a federal district, separate from the province), the maneuver is a very open defiance of the people. He is evidently trying by easy steps to create a "constitutional" dictatorship, without making any one coup drastic enough to cause revolt.

The Radicals have a strong weapon against Castillo in the growing anti-Nazi sentiment, which they are helping create by the Taborda Commission. Increasing political tension in Argentina is certain, and Castillo may either attempt a coup or be forced to resign.



CORDOBA LANDSCAPE. *A wood engraving by the Argentinian artist, Alberto Nicasio*

BUT if in Brazil and Argentina the political situation is in crisis, with the pro-Nazi forces maneuvering more dangerously than most Americans realize, there is on the other hand good news from Chile.

The general enthusiasm for the cause of the USSR has combined with sensational revelations of armed Nazi "sports clubs" in the German colonies of southern Chile to cool the intense political factionalism which had beset the country in recent months. The repeated attempts to unseat the elected Communist deputies and senators, or to outlaw the Party itself, have failed. *El Siglo,* the Communist daily of Santiago, which celebrates its first birthday this month, after twice being temporarily banned has already reached the largest circulation in Chile.

Recently the Communists and Socialists agreed to end their bitter feud, since they at present agree on both foreign and domestic policies. Most of the Radical Party is enthusiastically pro-Allied. Representatives of all the Popular Front parties, with leading intellectuals and former officials of the Spanish republic, have formed the *Union Democratica Contra el Nazifascismo* (UDACH), which is holding meetings throughout the country to enlist the Chilean people in aid to Britain and the USSR, and in rooting out the domestic fifth column. Plans are under way to send a shipload of nitrates and copper, Chile's leading products, as a gift to the Soviet people. And Chile will probably soon establish diplomatic and commercial relations with the USSR.

Until recently, the Chilean government had been lagging behind the people. President Aguirre Cerda tried to maintain a Cabinet composed chiefly of his personal friends, divorced both from the rightist and leftist parties. His Minister of the Interior, Arturo Olavarria, who was expelled from the Radical Party in June, was making increasingly ominous attacks on the Communists yet giving no help to the judicial investigation of Nazi activities, and refusing to curb the Nazis.

Fortunately, things have now changed. Olavarria has been compelled to resign, and Aguirre began negotiations for a reconciliation with the Radicals, that section of his own party which had opposed him. One of his first favorable actions was to appoint Leonardo Guzman as Minister of Interior. Guzman is a Radical, an honorary president of the UDACH. Three other Radicals have also been named to the Cabinet, thus ending Aguirre's experiment with personal government. In effect, therefore, the Popular Front in Chile has been reconstituted. The outlook is increasingly favorable and the influence and example of Chile will inevitably affect the whole hemisphere.

FRANK T. BAKER.

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THE AFL CALLS FOR SPEED

Its Seattle convention urged full effort in production to defeat Hitler. Labor spokesmen on defense boards. How to wipe out lags in armament output. An editorial.

NO CONVENTION of the American Federation of Labor for the past twenty-five years has responded more perceptively to the needs of the American people than did the delegates who have just left Seattle. It is heartening indeed that the federation, representing more than 4,000,000 organized workers, acted on the whole with boldness at this moment of great danger.

The convention realized that there dare be no delay in the fight against Hitlerism, no hesitation. No sacrifice can be too great, no effort too demanding. "The American labor movement hereby understands that all aid to Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China on the part of the United States opens the way for the final defeat of Hitler's armies and reaction all over the world," the delegates declared. "The future of America and of organized labor is bound up with the successful defeat of fascism."

With this premise the AFL adopted a program designed to bring the final defeat of the Nazi would-be conquerors of the world. It commended the administration's foreign policy; more, it singled out war production as the most pressing problem of the moment.

The AFL offered more than passive cooperation. It called—as the CIO has also asked repeatedly—for inclusion of labor spokesmen chosen by the unions on defense boards and other government agencies. Workers who build ships and tanks and planes understand the difficulties and know the solutions to problems that arise from the demand for more and more and more material. They can help show the way to eliminate bottlenecks and to double and triple output. Their technical skill, their intimate understanding of production can wipe out lags which have been a mighty aid for the Nazi columns.

In this respect, the AFL convention correctly appraised the importance of speed and still more speed. For now a steady, always swelling flow of arms and war material must take precedence over every other consideration. The government has set up machinery for handling industrial disputes. Without for a moment waiving the right to strike, without ever relinquishing safeguards to wages and working conditions, there are ways to prevent stoppages or disruption of output. The AFL urged that industrial disputes be settled though the Defense Mediation Board and similar agencies—as simultaneously Harry Bridges, regional CIO director on the Pacific Coast, urged the California State CIO. And both the AFL convention and CIO leaders favored workers' remaining on the job while mediation and negotiation proceed. Strike action in war industry would be resorted to only after all possible methods have been thoroughly tested and no other way remains. But this means that the government agencies have the responsibility of safeguarding the unions against abuse. Most defense strikes in the last year were precipitated by the employers. Certainly, in this emergency, the unions desire to exercise every possible restraint; but the present examples of the American Engineering Co. in Philadelphia, which deliberately provoked a strike by refusing for months to meet with the workers' grievance committee, and of Air Associates, Inc. at Bendix, N. J., which rejected recommendations of the Mediation Board, are far too usual strategies on the part of certain anti-union corporations.

FOR ITS PART, labor can avoid stultifying jurisdictional disputes, always disadvantageous to organization and now inimical to national security. Internecine raids on membership obstruct the main task of expanding production without pause. The AFL unfortunately failed to state its opposition to jurisdictional squabbles with sufficient forthrightness. In action, however, there are encouraging indications that needless friction can be avoided. The CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union has entered into an agreement with the AFL Brotherhood of Electrical Workers pledging an end to raids on each other's membership. It is noteworthy that in the past these two unions have waged bitter warfare against each other. And again President Thomas of the United Automobile Workers called off a strike at Hillsdale, Mich.: CIO workers at the Spicer Manufacturing Co. had refused to handle parts supplied by AFL machinists, but Thomas referred his union's complaint to the Mediation Board so that production of transmissions vital for tanks could go on.

Everywhere the labor movement expresses a growing consciousness of its obligations to keep the wheels of industry moving. Yet at this moment the American labor movement is formally split. Both the AFL and CIO have offered formulas for healing the breach; but as William Z. Foster has suggested, the question of a formal merger of the two labor bodies can be postponed during the crisis. The pressing need now is for immediate unity of action on the part of all workers. The CIO and the AFL agree that to crush Hitler is the first order of business. Therefore, at this moment and allowing neither jurisdictional nor administrative difficulties to stand in the way, the two great organizations of workers, together with the Railroad Brotherhoods, can collaborate efficiently and with the greatest practicability. In New York, for example, a number of AFL and CIO locals have issued a joint call for a "Destroy Hitler" meeting on October 25. Last week in New Haven CIO and AFL delegates sat side by side on the same platform with representatives of the broadest fraternal and religious groups to organize relief for all victims of fascism. These actions are landmarks. They can be repeated in every community throughout the country.

Still there are those within the labor movement who swim against the stream. William Hutcheson, president of the carpenters, who for thirty years has been no more than a strongarm bruiser for the most reactionary and corrupt section of employers, dares to flout the AFL convention by his membership on the national committee of the America First Committee. John L. Lewis' alignment with the reactionary appeasers has served to confuse the CIO and to encourage such hated figures in public life as Hoover, Lindbergh, and Landon who betray the national interests of America. Hutcheson and Lewis do not serve or speak for labor; their activities help those who seek to deliver the unions and the people to the Nazi headsmen.

THE PICTURE of the AFL convention is unfortunately not all bright. In Seattle there were those who talked unity while they continued to disrupt the anti-Hitler struggle by raising the Red scare and stupidly linking Stalin's name with Hitler's. The federation did nothing meaningful to improve the position of the Negro people even in relation to membership and voice in the union movement. The anti-racketeering resolution adopted can be viewed as little better than a pious declaration for the record only. Most important of all, the call for unity accepted by the delegates was woefully wanting in vigor. The federation made a beginning. There remains, however, the need to clarify issues and to strengthen the fight.

The CIO too has much to do. In three weeks CIO delegates convene in Detroit. The obligation is to push beyond the point reached by the AFL. The delegates can benefit by what was learned at Seattle. They should express to the workers and the people, to employers and the government, the menace of delay. Labor is daily showing its growing awareness of the great need. As we go to press, the general council of Ford Local 600 in Dearborn, representing 90,000 workers, has proposed an "out-produce Hitler" conference to which it will invite fifty delegates of the Ford local, officials of the Ford Motor Company, the OPM, and representatives of the international union and the cities of Detroit and Dearborn. The UAW's initiative and leadership deserve the compliment of being followed by unions in other industries. For on the accomplishments this winter of the American people will depend the fate of Europe, of the world, of our own country.

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KÄTHE KOLLWITZ

Reproduced above are six prints from a new portfolio, just published by Curt Valentin, honoring the great German graphic artist. Today, at 74, still living in Berlin's slums, she has become a symbol of the suffering everywhere, the "voice of those who have no voice" against brutal oppression and fascism, speaking out passionately for all people who ask for the freedom to live and the right to a secure life.

Beautifully direct, eloquently simple, these lithographs need neither introductory note nor analysis. Above, "These Children Are Starving," "Self-Portrait," and "Death Attacks," below, "Bread" and "Two Prisoners Listening to Music," and on the opposite page, "Working Woman with Sleeping Child."

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Strictly Personal

by RUTH McKENNEY

ALEX SHENKO

WHEN the Soviet troops, battering back the Nazis in the last counter-offensive, recaptured the little villages near Smolensk, the partisan bands came out of the dark forests to inspect their homes. At the collective farm named Kirov, the weather-beaten soldiers of the night, uniformed in sheepskins and peasant boots, armed with machine guns seized from German columns, appeared suddenly in the village square.

Without words the partisans moved delicately through the gutted remains of the great granary, built with such loving care in the days of peace. Silently, they fingered the twisted remnants of the phonograph and the moving picture machine they had bought with the surplus from the rich 1940 harvest. One of the younger men, the schoolteacher, went directly to the smoldering, smelling fragments of the schoolhouse. He poked in the rubble with a long stick, his face preoccupied, his eyes vacant. After a time he looked up and saw on the still-standing frame of the door, a swastika, chalked in mud. With a businesslike air, he climbed up and, using his sleeve, rubbed the wood until the mark was gone.

A little before noon the partisans of the Kirov collective farm gathered in the square. The details of the ceremony had been arranged long before. The schoolmaster, working while the others slept, had carved the wooden marker weeks ago. Now he unwrapped it and brushed it carefully, so that the dust did not lie in the beautiful letters, worked over with such care in the old cave they had used for headquarters.

The captain called the men of his village to attention. The schoolmaster sang a note, to get the pitch right. Then singing, swinging their arms smartly as the Red Army men did on parade, the partisans marched off to the burying place. Peter Shenko pointed out the untidy heap of earth, and the captain called "Halt." The partisans arranged themselves around the grave in an orderly square.

In the silence the schoolmaster stepped forward, carrying his board. The captain helped him dig the earth around it, and hands reached out to test its strength. The partisans stared at the marker, reading its words again, although they already knew them by heart. Many heated arguments had passed before the wording of this epitaph had been composed to please the majority vote.

The captain signed to Peter Shenko, and he stepped forward from the ranks, a blond young man, just twenty. Peter Shenko cleared his voice, and then, with his back to the grave, he recited the words.

"This is the burying place of Alex Shenko, a child of twelve years. He was tortured to death by the Nazi soldiers, and suffered more than any man should have to bear. He gave his life to make men free. The people of the whole world will always remember Alex Shenko. The Nazis could not conquer him."

Peter Shenko paused. The captain nodded to the schoolmaster. The captain said, "We will now hear the eulogy of Alex Shenko, by his teacher."

The schoolmaster took the brother's place at the head of the grave. He opened his mouth, but the words stuck. He looked wildly around him, and then whispered hoarsely to the captain, "I find that I can't."

The partisans frowned. The ceremony had been arranged. The captain whispered to the schoolmaster, "Go on, go on."

The schoolmaster began to weep. The partisans all looked at their boots, their faces red with embarrassment. The schoolmaster shuddered, trying to master his emotion. At last he began brokenly, "Friends, comrades, soldiers of the 18th Partisan Group. We meet here today. . . ."

The schoolmaster paused and wiped his face with his sleeve. He looked despairingly at the captain, but the captain shook his head grimly. The schoolmaster drew a deep breath and began rapidly, "Comrades, I can't recite the oration. You know that I wrote it out very carefully, but now I can't say it. Alex was such a fine lad, comrades, we all knew him. He was like the bright dawn, Alex was. When we thought of what our country would be like when were were old and gone, we thought of Alex. Remember the radio he built all by himself. A smart lad, he was. In school there was none to beat him. He recited poems with such a passion on his face. He felt so much. Remember the time he ran away to Moscow. His mother was furious, and so was I. It was not discipline, I told him. But he said he had to put his eyes on the city of the Kremlin—I could not blame him. But, comrades, he learned socialist discipline. Comrades, our partisan band could never have had its victories without Alex Shenko. Night after night he crept through the dark fields, slipping past the sentries, pretending to be a lost little fellow when the Nazis saw him. How many times did he make that dangerous trip from our cave to his father's house? And how many times did the message he brought back cost the invaders their officers, their lives, their guns?

"Comrades, we all know what happened to Alex Shenko. The Gestapo agents waiting there in the barn, watching the father; and Alex at last, in the dark hours after midnight, slipping into the familiar doorway. And then the agony.

"Oh! What manner of men are these who have come with the gun and the bomb to our country? He was only a child! We could not do it to a child, not even the son of the highest Nazi. We could not find it in our hearts to torture a *child*. Alex, he was only twelve years old; they could not mistake him for more; he hardly looked that. A youngster with wiry legs and a little monkey face and a cowlick on his forehead.

"Oh! What shall history say of men who burn a child to death?"

The schoolmaster sobbed, suddenly, breaking into his next words. With his hand across his face he cried out, his voice muffled and hoarse, "But he did not give our hiding place away. They burned him to death. But he would not tell."

Turning abruptly, the schoolmaster walked hurriedly away. In the silence the partisans moved uneasily in their places. One of them cried out, his voice terrible, "Alex! We shall avenge you!" A rumble of voices echoed, "Yes!"

The captain looked uncertainly around him. Then he said, "About face!"

The soldiers of the 18th Partisan Group turned in their tracks. The captain said, "Forward march!" The men of the Kirov collective farm marched rapidly back to the village square, swinging their arms smartly, as the Red Army men do on parade.

PLEASE tell everyone you know about Alex Shenko, and how he died. It is time that America came face to face with the tremendous reality.

For Alex Shenko was not the exception to the rule. Remember that. Oh, remember it, and act upon it.

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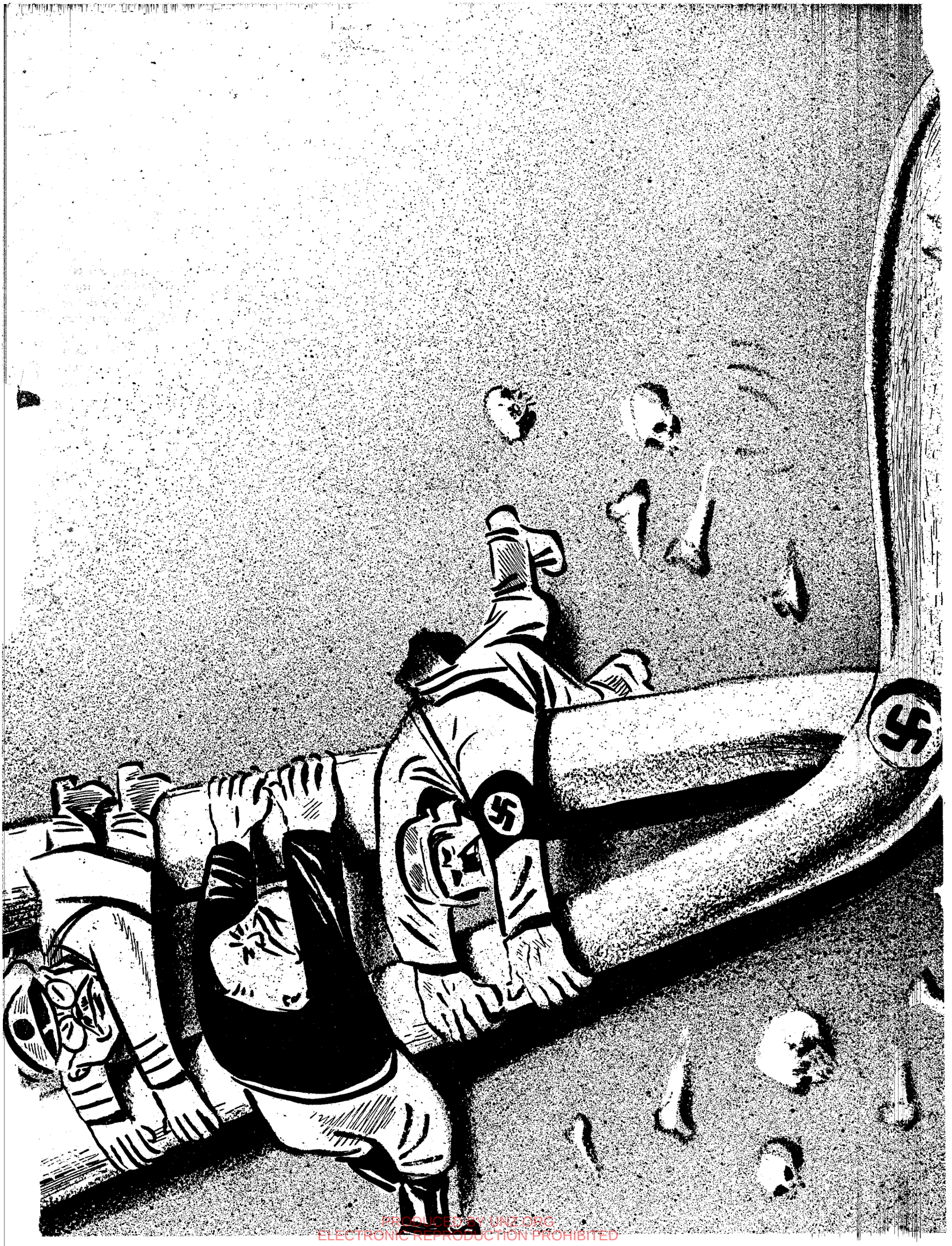

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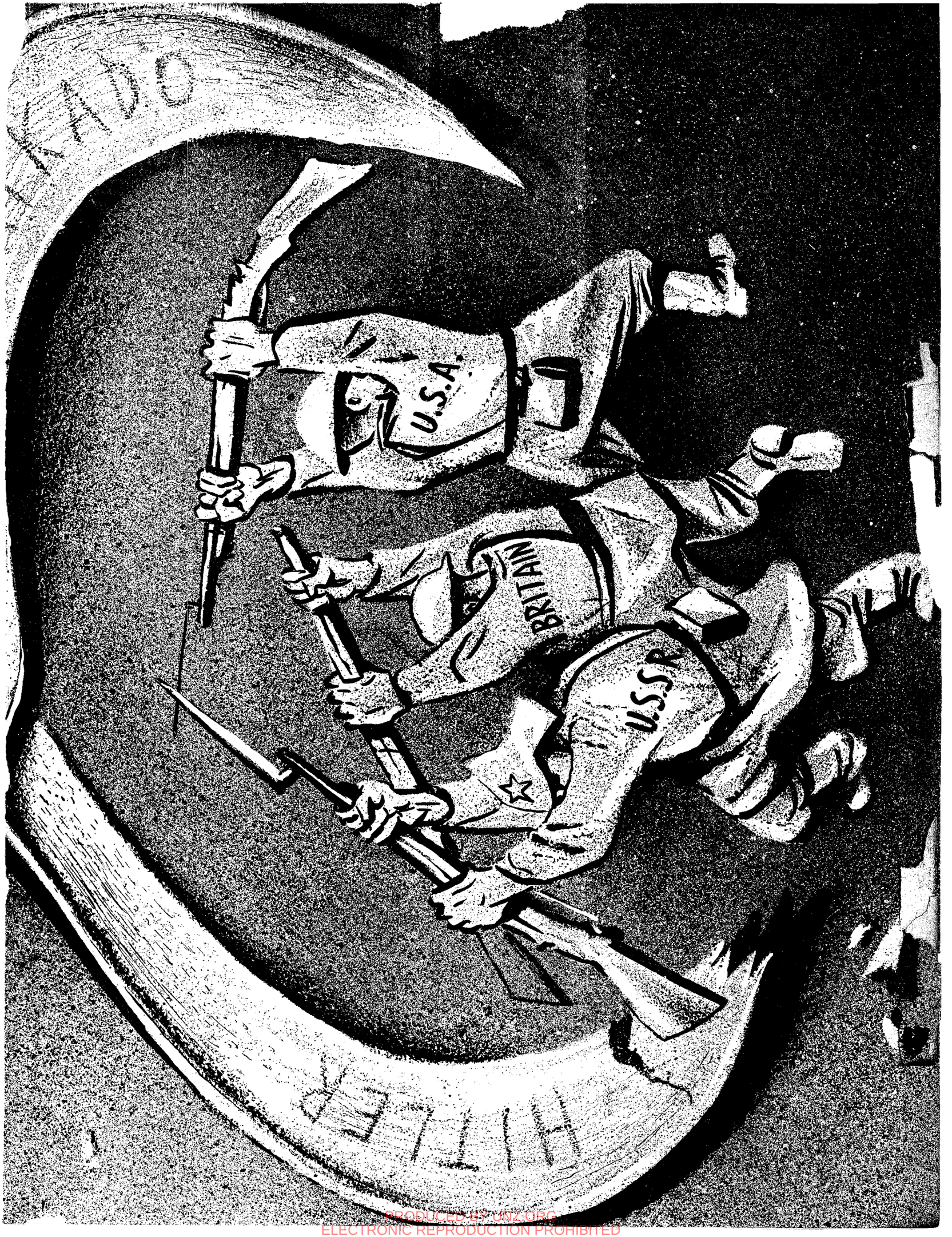

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THE BATTLE FOR MOSCOW

Colonel T. discusses the military problems confronting Hitler's marauders. A lesson from Borodino, 1812. British and American obligations.

THE area about Moscow is a huge fortified zone which can absorb a vast army like a sponge. To the northwest it is protected by the great Volga "sea," an artificial lake some seventy-five miles long and several miles wide. Though there are no other serious natural barriers in the other sectors, the defense rests upon a deep belt of fortifications among which mobile troops can maneuver. These fortifications merge with the city itself and are integrated with it.

Moscow is the hub of some eleven railroads which are linked by a railroad "ring," along which armored trains with huge naval guns can circulate. The city's very shape and topographical location (a circle some ten miles in diameter, resting on gently undulating country) afford great latitude of entry and exit. The new system of canals would permit small naval vessels to take part in the defense of the city.

It is impossible to tell how long and how successful the defense of Moscow will be. We can judge by the examples of Leningrad and Odessa, both of which afford proof of the Red Army's incredible tenacity. These instances show us that the population simply goes and joins the Red Army. Moscow can provide at least 2,000,000 of such defenders. The great ring of new and huge apartment houses along the outer boulevards will provide a string of makeshift, but effective fortresses. Stalin has called for a fight to the end to save Moscow, and it is quite possible the Nazis may never succeed in taking the city.

We should anticipate that the defense of Moscow will be conducted as an individual operation by special defenders, without necessarily involving the bulk of the central Soviet armies, because these have to be preserved against a coming spring counter-offensive. We can assume, and we know from the facts already before us, that the assault of Moscow would mean terrific losses in Nazi manpower and material.

IN THIS RESPECT, I believe history has a great deal to teach us. Although comparisons are always dangerous, yet, in this instance, it is my firm opinion that the past has much to teach the present. I recall graphically my studies of the Napoleonic war.

In the middle of May 1811, the French ambassador in St. Petersburg, Armand de Caulaincourt, was received by Czar Alexander. The czar said to him: "Should Emperor Napoleon make war upon us, it is quite possible that he will inflict defeats upon us, but this will not give him peace. . . . We shall not compromise our position, we have great spaces in our rear, and we shall preserve a well organized army. Having all this, one can never be compelled to make peace, in spite of all reverses. But the victor can be made to sue for peace."

The preservation of the Russian army in 1812 and the preservation of the Red Army in 1941—this was and is the dominant strategy of the Russian forces of both epochs.

In August 1812, Marshal Kutuzov said: "It is better to lose Moscow than to lose both the army and Russia." At the war council in the little village of Fili, after the battle of Borodino, the old field marshal listened to the arguments of his generals concerning the abandonment of Moscow. The argument went pro and con. It seemed that the nays had it. Kutuzov got up, and cutting the meeting short, said simply: "Orders to retreat." Moscow absorbed the victorious Grande Armee and spewed it out five weeks later. . . .

I cite this historical episode as background for our understanding of the problem today. As I say, history does not necessarily repeat itself. Moscow is being defended and will take a tremendous toll of the Nazis, no doubt. This is a fact already and will become more obvious as the days go on. But even should Moscow fall into the hands of the Nazi field marshals, what then? Let us flash back again to the nineteenth century. As a result of the Battle of Borodino, fought on the approaches to Moscow, Sept. 7, 1812, the French advanced and the Russians retired. But the French themselves were mortally wounded.

Napoleon had 130,000 men and 587 guns. The Russians had 121,000 men and 640 guns. The French lost over 50,000 men. The Russians lost 58,000 men. But there was no way of reinforcing the remaining 80,000 Frenchmen (and assorted troops) while the remaining 63,000 Russians had the entire country to draw upon.

The Russians had shorter communication lines. The French had lines stretched over many hundreds of miles, vulnerable to guerrilla attack. Napoleon's main objective was: peace before winter. He did not find it on the conquered field of Borodino, nor did he find it at the walls of the Kremlin. Both grand strategic objectives—*the destruction of the Russian army* and *peace before winter* remained outside Napoleon's reach. Yet, while the great battle now in progress in and around the historic site of Borodino bears practically no military resemblance to its famous forbear, there is a distinct parallel in strategy. Hitler's objectives are basically the same as Napoleon's. And his degree of achievement remains the same. His losses proportionately are even greater.

FROM A MILITARY STANDPOINT the basic difference between the two battles is that at Borodino (1812) practically the entire military might of both opponents was concentrated in that one battle, in a few square miles of space and in twenty-four hours of time. The "battle of Borodino" (1941) is an enormous operation which is being fought along an arc 350 miles long, marked by the cities of Kalinin, Rzhev, Vyazma, and Tula. Of this great arc, where well over 3,000,000 men are strug-

The Front

As we went to press it was nineteen days since the greatest German assault of the war had begun. Yet the panzer divisions were still being held well away from Moscow. At their nearest point, due west around Mozhaisk, they were still some sixty-five miles away. On the flanks of the city heavy fighting had been in progress continually, with towns like Kalinin to the northwest and Orel to the south changing hands several times. Moscow itself was in a state of siege, declared by Stalin as head of the defense committee; the government had removed hundreds of miles east to Kuibyshev.

It would seem that the workingmen of Moscow themselves, fortified by special units of the army, were being entrusted with the defense of the captal. As in every instance of this war, the Soviet defenders are giving up positions only after extracting the heaviest price from the invaders. Moscow is equalling the epic of Leningrad.

On other sectors of the front it would appear that the Nazis are striking with force toward the Donets basin, threatening the important city of Rostov. But here also every inch of ground has been fiercely contested and it can be assumed that the Donets region itself is being defended by powerful aggregations of Soviet troops. This is an important, although not decisive region in Soviet economy, and it remains to be seen whether the Nazis can make much headway, so long as their flank at Orel and Tula is insecure.

In the north, around Leningrad, the invaders admit they cannot concentrate on this city at present. Heavy Soviet counter-attacks are driving them out of one village after another. If Marshal Voroshilov could break through at any point in the Moscow direction, this would seriously threaten the whole German flank trying to cut around Moscow from the northwest.

The Nazis seem to have paused for reorganization of their main drive, but the Soviet armies around Vyazma and Bryansk are giving them no rest. It is clear, however, that even bigger battles, representing a fierce German effort to out-race the snow and blizzards which are coming over the plains, are to be expected any day.

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gling, the historic village of Borodino is nothing but the geographical, and shall we say, spiritual center. Borodino (1812) was a battle in which Napolean strove for a final decision with all his forces, while Kutuzov with almost all his forces tried to avoid a decision. The former failed, the latter succeeded.

Borodino, 1941, is a battle where the Nazi High Command is sending its best troops in order to destroy the bulk of the Red Army and take Moscow. It will certainly fail in the former; the coming days and weeks will tell whether it will succeed in the latter. In any event the price of Moscow will be enormous in German men and equipment.

True, the loss of Moscow would create acute suffering to the Soviet people, but nothing can break their will and their resistance. The material loss would be great but not fatal. Communications would be impaired, because Soviet transportation with the loss of Moscow would have to fall back on a rather tortuous system of north-south lines running east of Moscow. But still the great railroads running from the East would continue to feed Soviet resistance.

Yes, Moscow today is the center of the Soviet Union, the hub of its transport system and together with its suburbs and surrounding towns an important industrial center in its own right. But thanks to the foresight of the political command, the Red Army will certainly be able and will, of course, continue to fight even if it is strategically wise to abandon Moscow.

Consider these facts, bugaboos to Hitler: first of all there is plenty of room further east; second, there are distant highly developed industrial areas. Both of these factors will keep the Red Army going and *give its allies in Britain and the United States time to deliver the crucially important supplies they have promised.* There is plenty of land—for example, Kazan on the bend of the Volga is fully 500 miles east of Moscow, the distance that Hitler has taken four months to traverse. And that is still about 200 miles from the Urals themselves. In these great plains on both sides of the Volga lie important industrial towns like Gorky, Samara, and Saratov.

Furthermore, in the Urals we find a mighty network of industrial centers, from Perm in the north, connected by rail to Orenburg in the south. Here lies Magnitogorsk, the steel plant built on the fields of iron ore. Here are entire combines which produce materials from A to Z—drawing on nearby coal for coke and turning out finished steel manufactures. Big cities have grown up in the Urals in recent years, such as Sverdlovsk with 500,000, Ufa and Chelyabinsk with more than 250,000 inhabitants each.

To the southeast of the Urals lies the great and fabulous republic of the Kazakhs, with the big coal beds and industrial centers at Karaganda; to the northeast of that is the newly developed Kuznetsk basin—all of which is some 2,000 miles east of Moscow. Big steel mills operate here, for example, at Stalinsk, which had 3,000 inhabitants in 1936 and now houses about 200,000. There is the Siberian metropolis of Novosibirsk with its 400,000 people. And all these regions—not reckoning the Far East—are beyond the range of modern bombers and continue their production night and day for the fighting front. Tremendous expansion took place here in the past few years as the clouds of war rolled toward the Soviet Union. It was clearly and statedly a great part of the defense program of the USSR.

NONETHELESS, there is no doubt that the situation before Moscow is grave. The loss of the industrial plant in that area, in the Ukraine area, is undoubtedly a great blow. I cite the above facts to show that the Red Army has the wherewithal to *continue large scale defensive operations,* but in the final analysis, the job of victory over Hitler is more than the job of the Soviet Union. It is simultaneously Great Britain's job; America's job. It requires the joint effort of these great anti-Hitler powers to achieve victory: remember that the Soviet Union is fighting Nazi Germany and its industrial loot from seventeen nations. At present the Red Army is bearing the brunt alone of this tremendous concentration of steel. True, the Soviet people will fight on as brilliantly as they have fought to date. The question is: how soon will the American and British peoples accept their full share of the historic obligation to smash Hitler? To answer that question is to resolve the issue of victory or defeat.

COLONEL T.

Michaels

"No political machine will control me. . . ." O'Dwyer, Democratic nominee for mayor of New York speaks in Tammany Hall.

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NEW MASSES

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The Kearny Challenge

ON THE morning of October 17 the United States destroyer *Kearny* was torpedoed by a submarine—"undoubtedly German," the Navy Department announced—while on patrol duty in the American defense zone, 350 miles southwest of Iceland. Eleven members of the crew were reported missing and ten injured, one critically, another seriously. That same day, in far-off Tokyo, Lieut. Gen. Eiki Tojo formed a new Japanese Cabinet which was believed pledged to a more aggressive anti-American, anti-Chinese, anti-Soviet policy.

There is no way of knowing whether the torpedoing of the submarine was deliberately timed to coincide with the ascension of the new Cabinet in Japan. But certain it is that these two momentous events are closely related and arise out of a common strategy. Both are part of the gigantic pincers movement of the Axis powers against the United States. Both signalize the intensification of our country's peril. Both underline our vital, immediate stake in the Battle of Moscow and in the whole future course of the war on the Eastern Front.

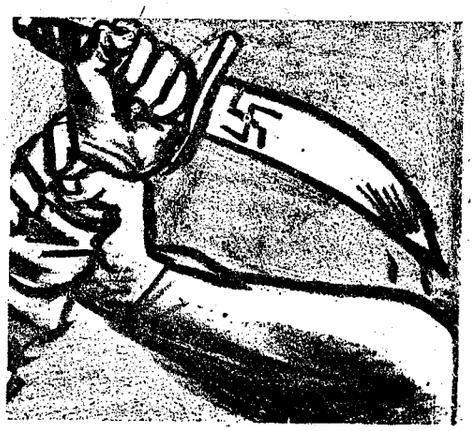
How is America responding to this threat to its very existence? A few hours after the attack on the *Kearny* the House voted, 259 to 138, to amend the Neutrality Act in order to permit the arming of American merchant ships. A step forward, but how small a step! The Nazis are waging all-out war, and we are still struggling to get out of the Neutrality Act straitjacket bit by bit. What was most hopeful was not the passing of the amendment, but the size of the vote, nearly two to one, reflecting the growth of popular support for the administration's foreign policy.

But why retain any part of the abortive, pro-Axis Neutrality Act? Why, after this attack on an American destroyer, hesitate to fight fire with fire, wage war against those who wage war on us? Our full participation in a struggle that will determine our own future no less than the future of Britain, the Soviet Union, and other nations, would contribute powerfully to the opening of a western front and would strengthen the Eastern Front where the soldiers and civilians of Russia fight so heroically against America's mortal enemy. In the most literal sense Moscow and Leningrad are the bastions of New York and London, and we cannot defend those bastions merely by amending or repealing the Neutrality Act, or by limiting our efforts to the shipment of supplies.

THE SHELL that struck the *Kearny* and killed or wounded over a score of American boys was not the only torpedo fired at our national defense. Alfred M. Landon and Martin Dies also favored the country with samples of their marksmanship. Landon tried the flank attack instead of the America First frontal assault. "I think we should help Russia. But. . . ." And "Yes, it is our duty, in common with others, to cooperate with the President. But. . . ." Particularly snide was Landon's attempt to speak in the name of the little businessman as against the New Dealers who "are working hand in hand with big business." It must be admitted that Goebbels does this sort of thing a little more cleverly. It will be recalled that the only reason Landon's name is known today outside his own state is that in 1936 he was picked as the Republican candidate for President by a small businessman named William Randolph Hearst, admirer of Hitler and Mussolini. And during that campaign Landon had the almost unanimous support of Hitlerites, anti-Semites, and assorted appeasers.

It is true that the Roosevelt administration has given insufficient attention to the problems of little business, particularly in respect to involving small manufacturers in the defense program. It is the anti-Hitler forces of the country that are today seeking to help little business to survive in a way that will simultaneously step up defense production. For the triumph of Hitler and his American henchmen would mean the complete ruin of tens of thousands of small business people, as it has in the conquered nations and in Germany itself.

NO LESS THREATENING to national defense is the letter of Representative Dies to Attorney General Biddle listing the names of 1,124 federal employees who are alleged to be Communists or to have "strong leanings toward Moscow." It was not revealed whether those charged with having such leanings include the banker and industrialist W. Averell Harriman, who headed the American mission to Moscow; or President Roosevelt, whose recent statement about religious freedom in the USSR brought forth angry growls from the Texas fuehrer. We don't know whether any of those listed are actually Communists, since in the Dies lexicon even mild progressives are defined as Communists. But we certainly think that Communists have a far greater right to be on the government payroll than certain southern congressmen who hold office because the majority of their constituents are disfranchised through the poll tax.



Dies, like Landon, is playing a double game. He votes for amending the Neutrality Act, but at the same time does yeoman work for Hitler by undermining national unity. He professes to support the administration's foreign policy—otherwise, even in poll-tax Texas he'd get turned out of office—but his letter to Attorney General Biddle reveals his real attitude when it states that "the very grave danger exists that our government, by its aid to Russia on the Eastern Front, has opened up for Stalin a new western front right here in the capital of America."

It's not Stalin that Dies is shooting at, but American defense. That's why he's the favorite congressman of the KKK, the Silver Shirts, and the Nazi Bund.

In striking contrast to the attitude of Dies and Landon is the eloquent appeal to President Roosevelt of 1,000 Protestant bishops, ministers, religious editors, and college presidents calling for all-out aid to the Soviet Union and attacking those who play Hitler's game in this country.

HIGHLIGHTING the battle for production is the announcement that defense officials are drafting a $100,000,000,000 arms program, to be spent by the end of 1943 or early 1944. The program would provide the United States and the other anti-Axis nations with about 125,000 planes and tens of thousands of tanks. As a result, twice as much material would be supplied in 1942 and 1943 as originally planned.

A program of this kind is not at all utopian, provided the problem of organizing production on an all-out basis is solved not in 1943, but within the next few months. The industrial potential of this country is truly staggering. Consider, for example, steel production, which is the foundation of all armaments. In 1939 the United States manufactured more steel than the combined production of Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxembourg, Hungary, and Spain. This country produces more than half the world's oil. Think what would happen if this tremendous industrial potential were realized in terms of tanks, planes, guns, and weapons of every sort for the Soviet front, as well as other fronts. The fact is, however, that only fifteen percent of the nation's production is today devoted to defense, compared to about fifty percent in England and an even higher percentage in the USSR.

True, our defense production is steadily expanding, but far too slowly. President Roosevelt has announced that in September $155,000,000 of lend-lease supplies were shipped to the anti-Axis nations, or more than double the amount sent in the first three months of the program. That is encouraging in relation to the past, but in relation to present and future needs it is still like the

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proverbial drop in the ocean. On organized labor falls a large part of the responsibility for drastically changing this situation within the shortest possible time. Failure to bring the trade unions more actively into the defense setup will mean lowered efficiency and delay that will compound the danger to the United States.

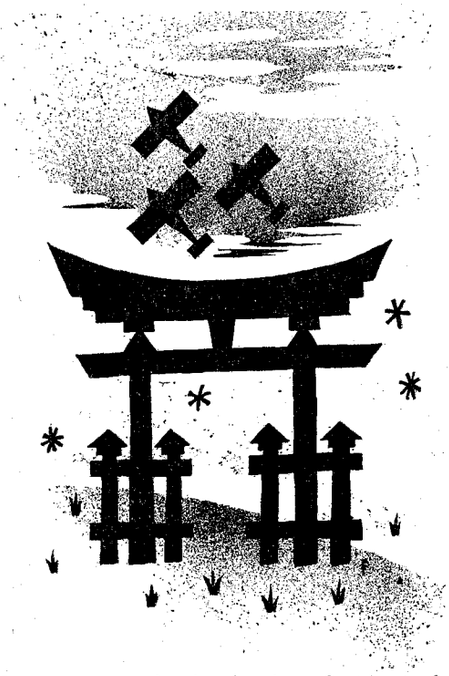
Hitler has been able to advance on the Eastern Front because he has concentrated against the Soviet Union the productive power of the entire European continent. But once the bottlenecks in American production are broken—provided they are broken in time—the factories of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union, supporting the military efforts of those countries and of China, will be able to amass on all fronts such a weight of armaments as will surely crush the Axis military machine.

On the Dotted Line

MORE than 300 union officials, AFL and CIO, have urged upon President Roosevelt the release of Earl Browder. Petitions to the same effect are being signed by trade unionists, artists, musicians, writers, ministers, judges—by Americans of every occupation and many political beliefs. On October 25 and 26, Saturday and Sunday, thousands of additional citizens will observe National Browder Petition Day by affixing their names to a united plea for the release of America's great anti-fascist as "an act of justice and fair play" and to "contribute in welding that unity of 130,000,000 Americans so necessary to assure the final destruction of Nazi tyranny." The petition, sponsored by the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, states that "we who sign . . . do not consider Mr. Browder's views an issue in this case." It is being circulated nationally, in quantities that permit more than 2,000,000 signatures. Supporters of democracy and justice should not stop with signing their names. They have an opportunity to participate more actively in this campaign by helping to circulate the petitions and by explaining to acquaintances the importance of signing.

Expelling Talmadge

THE cap and gown is winning over the white hood in Georgia. More important, democracy is winning over "White Supremacy" in the case of Eugene Talmadge versus the people. By a unanimous vote of its forty-one members the Conference of Southern Universities expelled the University of Georgia because of Talmadge's action in forcing the dismissal of Dean Walter Cocking of the School of Education on charges of advocating "racial equality." The dismissal, said the conference, was "Both a contradiction of the ideal of education and a threat to democracy in America." To this concise, accurate indictment "Gene" has found no answer except the favorite yelp of southern demagogues: "Outside influences!" The charge was rendered absurd in advance. Shortly after the decision, made by southern educators, became known to the University students 1,500 burned the governor in effigy.



Newspapers as far in the deep South as the Birmingham *News* and *Age Herald* denounced "Gene" instead of the conference. It will be remembered that Talmadge had to coerce and reshuffle the university's Board of Regents in order to fire Cocking. And another group of southern educators, the Association of Southern Colleges and Universities, is expected to oust the University of Georgia.

It is also worth pointing out that protest against Talmadge's Ku Kluxism was nationwide. It was based, as the conference's statement recognizes, on the fact that racism and attacks on free education are "a threat to democracy in America." The phrase is as applicable to Rapp-Coudert as to Talmadge. A victory has been won not only in Georgia; it is a national triumph against Hitlerism and for unity.

"Americans All" Week

AMONG the foremost soldiers in the world-wide "V" army are America's foreign born, numbering more than 14,000,000. Nearly all of them come from countries seized by Hitler or menaced by his advance—from Austria, Spain, Switzerland, Poland, Great Britain, Germany itself. Now their adopted country, the United States, also is threatened with invasion. To remove any barrier to national unity, by eliminating discrimination against the foreign born, is the purpose behind "Americans All" Week, October 21-28. Sponsored by more than 100 prominent Americans and co-chairmanned by Louis Bromfield and Rep. Adolph Sabath of Illinois, "Americans All" Week provides a gigantic national tribute, through mass rallies and individual testimonials, to the great contributions made by these foreign born to American democracy and culture. This particular week was chosen because, ending on October 28, it culminates in the fifty-fifth (VVth) anniversary of the dedication of the Statue of Liberty, America's famous symbol of democracy and of asylum for the oppressed of other nations. Citizens everywhere are invited to participate in "Americans All" Week by forming community celebrations, arranging for radio broadcasts, and urging upon Congress special measures to encourage and facilitate naturalization. Here is a splendid opportunity for anti-Hitlerites to demonstrate their determination and unity—unity with our allies in this country as well as those who fight so superbly in their homelands.

Russian War Relief

DR. ERIC MATSNER of Russian War Relief, Inc., 535 Fifth Ave., New York City, announced that by the end of this month the committee will have collected $1,000,000. Of course, he added, this amount is "just a drop in the bucket," when the vast need is kept in mind. Yet the success of the committee's drive for funds has enabled it to purchase and ship quantities of medical supplies, including anti-tetanus serum, malaria prophylactic, quinine, the new "wonder drug" called sulfathiazole for dressing wounds. The committee, which will also raise funds for food and clothing, is supported by an imposing roster of leaders in the professions, in labor, in religious organizations. The organization will hold its first great rally at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on Monday evening, October 27. The long list of prominent speakers and entertainers includes the former American ambassador to the USSR, Joseph E. Davies, Walter Duranty, Frank Lloyd Wright, Benny Goodman, and a group from the Monte Carlo ballet.

The Newsdealers Fight

THE newsdealers in New York City are engaged in business—very small business. For the most part they are older men and women, and a proportion of them are those brave unfortunates with physical handicaps who work hard to make a very modest living. The newsdealers decided to strike to improve their conditions. Organized into an AFL federal union, they were being supported by the public who are their customers and by the small storekeepers who are in reality competitors, but who refused to scab.

The strikers were fighting the greatest aggregation of lords of the press in the world. Every metropolitan daily—with the honorable exceptions of *PM*, the *Brooklyn Eagle*, the *Daily Worker*—were the small merchants' opponents. The issue—a few pennies for the newsstand owner, which means a bit more food, a little more chance to meet the rent. But the powerful owners of the press balked at paying the extra pennies; at all costs, despite the inconvenience to the public, despite the obvious justice of the distributors' claims, they defended their right to pay $1.50 per hundred for unsold papers which cost the newsdealer $2.35; to terrorize the dealers into taking more papers than they can possibly sell; to continue the hundred and one abuses they practice. But after two weeks a settlement was reached, granting the dealers an important concession: two dollars a hundred for unsold papers. Other points are to be left for further negotiation.

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Readers Forum

More on Little Business

To New Masses: I read the article "Little Business with Big Worries," by Frank Wallace, in your last issue with great eagerness, as it is a subject in which I am particularly interested. While there is much in the article that hit home, I found myself questioning the general approach as well as certain specific expressions. It struck me that Mr. Wallace seemed more concerned with preserving little business as usual than with the contribution little business could make to the defense of America (without which the interests of the small businessman cannot be defended). This is evident when he writes that "We have to find out whether the defense program really requires *all* of the materials now being taken out of the orbit of commodity circulation—taken out of the civilian's mouth, so to speak." Again it appears in this statement: "Obviously if small business can be allotted the materials to enable it to operate on goods for civilian needs, we shall be saved a terrible upheaval in our economy and a disturbing unemployment in the very midst of the war effort."

But suppose that some civilian production does have to be cut in order to make possible an all-out war effort against Hitler. Mr. Wallace implies that this would be a tragedy for the American people. The fact is that it would be far more tragic if civilian production were not reduced wherever materials or machinery were needed for defense purposes. What Mr. Wallace does is to pose civilian needs as against the defense program; this unwittingly plays into the hands of the appeasers. It seems to me that the only valid approach is to regard the entire national production as a unit designed to further our defense against the Nazi menace. Necessarily part of the industrial machinery would have to be devoted to manufacturing consumers' goods, but the proportion that would be utilized for this purpose would be determined by the over-all needs of national defense —and preservation of the people's health is part of those needs—and not by any arbitrary attempt to maintain the status quo.

I find the same trouble with Mr. Wallace's tendency to set little business against big business and to view the whole of big business as an enemy that must be fought. He uses such expressions as "dollar-a-year-bourbons" and "the brass-hatted hierarchs of the Army and Navy"—expressions which echo a period that is past. If the national front is to be built to include not only workers, farmers, and middle class people, but all capitalists who favor a struggle against Hitler, I think we ought to separate the goats from the sheep among the dollar-a-year men and the generals and admirals. There is no need to idealize the capitalist class, but there ought to be greater differentiation among individual capitalists and individual corporations if the national front against Hitlerism is to become something more than a slogan.

Perhaps, I'm all wrong about this. If so, I'd like to be enlightened.

A. F. Hall.

Philadelphia, Pa.

[We have discussed Mr. Hall's criticisms with Frank Wallace and he is in entire agreement with them, as are the editors. In fairness to Mr. Wallace it should be said that parts of his article do suggest the proper approach, yet on the whole the criticisms made by Mr. Hall are fully justified. By failing to take as its point of departure the defense of America against the Hitler menace the article does, as Mr. Hall points out, tend to play into the hands of the appeasers. This is confirmed by the speech of Alfred M. Landon, who demagogically sought to exploit the mistakes of those in charge of the defense program by charging that the Roosevelt administration was "using national defense as a smoke screen to eliminate the small business man."

To make the defense of America the fulcrum of all activity is not to ignore the problems of little business. On the contrary, it is the only way to safeguard the interests of the small businessman. This is true not only in the general sense that a Hitler victory would be an even greater catastrophe for the small manufacturer and retailer than for the large one, but in the specific and immediate sense that the all-out organization of the defense effort requires the full utilization of the capacities and experience of small firms. The concentration of contracts among a tiny number of large corporations has undoubtedly hampered the defense program, and the recent establishment of the Division of Contract Distribution to spread subcontracting among smaller concerns is an important step toward remedying this situation.

The labor movement likewise can help break the production bottleneck, and at the same time assist little business to survive and reduce temporary unemployment resulting from the shift to the manufacture of war supplies. The CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers has shown particular initiative in solving this problem. It is true that even with the best planning and organization there will undoubtedly be hardships. But all sections of the population will have to make sacrifices in this titanic struggle against the Hitler hordes. What is needed are measures to assure that such sacrifices will go toward strengthening the national defense and not toward enriching the rich. This, as well as the full mobilization of all our economic resources, requires the active participation of labor and little business in the management of the national defense program—The Editors.]

Cheers for Spivak

The following letters are two of 118 which NM has received on the "America First" expose by John L. Spivak, and are typical of the comment which we have received by mail.—The Editors.

To New Masses: I started to write you a letter after the first article in John L. Spivak's expose of "America First"; then I decided to wait for the second, to see if it was as good, and now I have just finished reading the third. Well, the final verdict is—each one is a honey and the three together are really tremendous. Surely this is one of the most devastating operations that has been performed yet on America's Hitlerites. Mr. Spivak just opens them up and gives you a complete view of what's under the stuffed shirts of these "smart money" boys. It's a revolting view and I wish that no one could miss it. This is the sort of thing that blows up complacency, illusions of safety, the shut-eye "it can't happen here" attitude. It proves that the America First leaders, so far from being a group of misguided men and women who happen to hold different opinions from the majority of Americans about war, are a thoroughly organized, cunning, well financed gang who have studied and now apply the tactics of their Nazi overlords. And Spivak has shown this not by just *telling* us it's so but by dint of superb reporting, documenting every charge. One feature of his technique that pleases me most is his way of damning these men through their own words—the interview with William R. Castle is an especially good illustration. Another beauty of his writing is its readability. He, more than almost anyone I know, can make you see and hear his interviews, and visualize the actual scene. (Incidentally, while I'm on the subject of visual aspects, I'd like to congratulate you on the photographs that accompanied the series—they were as effective as the best cartoons.)

It isn't often that I write such "all out" paeans about anything in print that impresses me but, thinking back over the Spivak series, I don't think that anyone who has read them will feel that I have been over-lyrical. And just to prove to at least ten people that I know what I'm talking about, I'm enclosing $2.50 for ten sets of the articles to give to persons who haven't happened to see them yet.

J. K. O'F.

Chicago.

To New Masses: America First is probably tearing its collective hair as a result of Spivak's first article. May it continue to do so with each successive article, until it stands revealed in all its bald treachery before the American people.

Spivak's startling precise revelations, with their wonderful documentation, confirm what all anti-fascists have known but have been unable to prove —that America First's leadership is a hotbed of pro-fascists, anti-Semites, and traitors to their country, who must be rooted out of American life if the United States is not to go the way of France, Norway, and so many other formerly free nations.

Jack Spivak and New Masses have again rendered a service of the utmost importance to the defense of our country and to the unity of our people in the struggle to destroy Hitlerism.

Herbert Benjamin,
Executive Secretary,
International Workers Order.

New York.

One Man Gropper Show

To New Masses: I am sure your readers will be interested in the exhibit of Gropper's Original Cartoons, 1933-41, entitled "Meet the Axis," which is being held October 20-November 1 at the ACA Gallery, 26 West 8th St., NYC. The exhibit, sponsored by the United American Spanish Aid Committee, includes 150 cartoons and a number of Gropper oils.

There is a general admission charge of ten cents, and the exhibit and sale of this artwork will benefit anti-Axis refugees trapped in French and North African concentration camps.

Louis Ogull,
Publicity Director,
United American Spanish Aid Committee

New York.

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SOVIET SCHOLARSHIP AND TOLSTOY

The monumental Academy Edition of the great novelist's works. Brilliant research achievements in the field of humanities. . . . Isidor Schneider reviews a biography of W. B. Yeats.

DURING these agitated times scholarship would seem to be the last refuge of noble or ignoble minds. It is a labor that thrives only in periods of peace, and because of its limited appeal the end products require extensive subsidization for publication and distribution. In the humanities especially, scholarship is regarded at best as a necessary evil in our pragmatic world. The great French teacher Gaston Paris once said that the only justification of scholarship was its indefatigable search for truth. But truth was never a commodity on the world market; it seems to emerge fitfully by a kind of conspiracy of truth-seeking idealists, only to be suppressed again as unprofitable in a society whose members are preoccupied with personal aggrandizement.

Over the last twenty years in Soviet Russia scholarship in the humanities has been considered a necessary part of the total process of cultural development. (The same may perhaps be said of the other disciplines, but I have competence only in the humanities.) In the multitudinous foreign writings on the accomplishments or lack of them in Soviet Russia, very little has been said on this subject, perhaps because of its specialized nature or because the facts are not easy to obtain in a week's visit or by reading a book.

Leo Tolstoy and Maxim Gorky

Before the Revolution there were brilliant scholars in Russia and many outstanding studies were produced in bibliography, literary criticism, textology, editions, and scientific biography. But scholarship in the humanities then was hindered in many ways. It is perhaps not paradoxical to offer as evidence of a lack of support the fine gesture made as early as 1857 by the Petersburg literary circle, with Druzhinin and Tolstoy in the lead, to establish a Society to Assist Needy Authors and Learned Men. (The separation of literature and the scholarship that endeavors to study and interpret it has been less marked in Russia than in any other country.)

TO OBTAIN exact figures for the following assertion would be difficult, but I venture the guess that nearly as many titles in literary scholarly research have been published in the last twenty years in Soviet Russia as appeared in the previous fifty years. The principal reason for this scholarly renascence, of course, has been enthusiastic government encouragement and financial aid. Apart from ready recognition manifested by public honors, the scholar is not lacking in material rewards. Only an enlightened public interest can account for the fact that profound scholarly investigations go into more than one large edition, and it comes as a surprise to us that learned articles in professional journals are actually paid for.

Another factor that has served to revolutionize Soviet studies in the humanities has been the tremendous emphasis placed upon the collection of new materials. After the Revolution the vast archives of the old government were made accessible to investigators, and a quantity of fresh material, particularly from the archives of the secret police, became available. For very few writers of nineteenth century Russia escaped the strict surveillance of the czar's police, and much data was compiled and filed away. The same may be said of the Censorship Commission, in whose files were buried many illuminating reports on the mangled works of authors.

In a steady stream, exhaustively edited collections of the productions of Russia's greatest writers and of many of the lesser figures have been appearing, augmented frequently by freshly discovered material. A new school of textology has developed whose adherents have been subjecting hitherto unquestioned texts to scientific analysis that has yielded astounding results. The literary section of the Academy of Sciences has fostered a series of *Letopisi,* "Annals" of the life and works of Russian authors. These extensive compilations aim to provide scholars with all the biographical, literary, and critical facts that will serve as vital source material for succeeding studies. They are, in a sense, complete reference works, and to date such compilations have appeared for Dobroliubov, Herzen, Chernyshevsky, Tiutchev, Nekrasov, Dostoevsky, and Tolstoy. All possible archives, and the homes, villages, towns, and cities where famous authors lived have been thoroughly searched for literary treasures. A recent find was made in the hut of a family servant that turned out to be literally papered with old manuscripts, documents, and letters of the great satirist, Saltykov-Shchedrin.

Nor have studies and translations of foreign writers been neglected by Soviet scholars. Over the last few years translations and studies have appeared of *Beowulf,* the *Chanson de Roland,* Chaucer, and of the works of nearly all the later principal figures of western European literature. To some tastes, indeed, Soviet scholars evince a tendency to be too exhaustive in their efforts, a fact that has not gone uncriticized in the USSR. In a single volume of the four-volume edition of Pushkin's letters, for example, 100 pages of letters receive 500 pages of closely printed notes that literally represent an encyclopedia for the few years over which the letters were written.

A NOTEWORTHY EXAMPLE of Soviet scholarship has been the work done on Leo Tolstoy. Tolstoy presents a very complex scholarly problem, for the productions of no other major Russian writer were so persistently forbidden and mutilated as those of Tolstoy; and the fact that many of his works were irregularly published abroad or secretly printed has created numerous textual and editorial difficulties. Finally, the knowledge that a vast amount of unpublished material existed only served to accentuate the need of a definitive study.

The demand for a popular collected edition of Tolstoy was met in 1928, the centenary year of his birth. A twelve-volume edition, designed for the general public, was published in Moscow, and a fifteen-volume edition in Leningrad. The latter was more scientifically prepared; some of the texts were based upon the manuscripts, and a considerable amount of commentary was provided. Both editions were restricted to purely literary works.

At the same time a vast project was undertaken—the publication of a definitive Academy Edition of Tolstoy. A govern-

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ment decree set up a committee, and at the time a million rubles were appropriated for the work. The man whom Tolstoy designated as his literary executor, his close friend V. G. Chertkov, was appointed editor-in-chief by the government. A group of the most distinguished scholars in Russia agreed to serve on the central editorial committee, and a host of specialists were engaged to perform various aspects of the work.

All this may seem to be excessive preparation for a definitive edition of one man's works, but a few figures will indicate the extraordinary magnitude of the task. Tolstoy lived to be eighty-two, and in the more than sixty years of his writing career his productivity was simply colossal. There are over 2,000 titles in the complete corpus which consists of almost a million manuscript pages. His letters alone total some 10,000. With all this material, it was necessary to plan for an edition of ninety-five volumes.

THE COMMITTEE first drew up a careful *Prospectus* and laid out a strictly scientific editorial policy. The *Prospectus* calls for publication of the whole corpus in three series, arranged, with minor exceptions, chronologically; the first series of forty-five volumes will contain all the literary and journalistic writings, the texts based upon a study of the original manuscripts and variants, and full commentaries are to be provided; the second series of thirteen volumes will consist of all his diaries and notebooks with commentaries; and the third series of thirty-one volumes will contain all his letters with commentaries. Three volumes of biographical material and indices will complete the edition, and the inclusion of numerous illustrations is planned. A very large amount of material in all three series has never been published before.

The first difficulty encountered by the committee was to complete and catalogue the Tolstoy manuscripts. Although there were two main collections already established (in the Moscow All-Union Lenin Library and the State Tolstoy Museum; later a collection was brought together in the State Literary Museum), many manuscripts were widely scattered in provincial museums, or were in private hands in Russia and abroad, principally in England. An appeal was circularized by the Commissariat of Education for the loan of these manuscripts, and the response on the whole was very gratifying. Various special work-catalogues of all this vast material were made, and soon the editors were busy on the separate volumes. Since the project got under way, thirty-nine volumes have been published, and many more are finished, waiting for the overloaded Soviet press.

In the space here, it is impossible to give an adequate appraisal of the merits and defects of the thirty-nine volumes of the Academy Edition that have so far appeared. For such a grandiose project, one would expect better typography and designing, but these features are perfectly adequate if not distinguished. And the editorial work in certain volumes is open to criticism. Thus, in *Resurrection* (volumes 32-33), the editor N. K. Gudzi has handled an incredibly difficult task of establishing a final text by threading his way skilfully through a maze of variants and corrections in the original manuscripts, but in his conclusions he has failed to use some important materials. And in the *Letters,* 1844-55 (volume 59), the commentary neglects a few items that would be of importance to a biographer, such as Nikolai Tolstoy's letter to Leo which tells of his sister's first meeting with Turgenev.

Although similar criticisms could be made of other volumes, it would almost be an act of supererogation in a task so formidable. On the other hand, the merits of the various volumes, from a scholarly point of view, are overwhelming. One cannot exaggerate the difficulties that faced the several editors in establishing the many texts. Tolstoy's habits of composition and his exasperatingly crabbed handwriting (often complicated by abbreviations) become crucial problems for the editors. The famous writer once said that no addition, however talented, can improve a work as much as a deletion, and in successive drafts he went over and over a production with a pruning pen. It is on record that he accumulated as many as thirty corrected variants of a single story, and on some occasions the final proofs had to be reset entirely, so completely had he altered the sheets. Even then, telegrams were hurried off to the printer with last minute corrections. All this made for great art, but it left a legacy of lament to his editors.

Such obstacles, along with the irregular publication of many of Tolstoy's works, have made it essential that the utmost care be taken with the texts. The result is that in not a few cases the final texts of the Academy Edition differ greatly from those the world has known. For example, the generally accepted text of *Anna Karenina* never received Tolstoy's final revision; he turned the proofs over to his friend N. N. Strakhov for smoothing out. The editor of the Academy Edition of the novel (volumes 18-20) has rejected this text entirely and established a new one incomparably closer to what Tolstoy actually wrote.

APART from extensive textual revisions, the definitive edition has brought to light so many hitherto unpublished works, variants, and fragmentary compositions that we shall have to change considerably our whole estimate of Tolstoy's total production and of his worth as a great literary artist. To take just one example: the basic part of volume 17 contains two incomplete historical romances, *The Decembrists* and a novel on the time of Peter the Great. Much new material is here presented, and in the case of *The Decembrists,* one gathers the impression that Tolstoy had designed a novel on even a larger scale than *War and Peace.* In the two other series of the edition—the diaries and notebooks and the letters—the new material is still more abundant. Scores of notebooks and diaries and hundreds of letters are published for the first time.

Finally, the rich notes and commentaries to all these volumes reveal the profound scholarship and encyclopedic knowledge of the editors. Literally all of Russian and much of western European and American civilization is drawn upon in amassing reference material of unexampled scope. Such a huge undertaking as this edition is a public monument, and it redounds to the credit of the government that originated and supported the enterprise. Certainly no more magnificent monument was ever designed for a great literary genius, and I know of nothing comparable to it in extent, completeness, scholarship, and accuracy in the world of letters.

The efforts of Soviet scholars on Tolstoy, however, have by no means been limited to the Academy Edition. The mass of new manuscript material has provided infinite possibilities for new evaluations of Tolstoy as a man, a thinker, a critic, and a literary artist. An enormous number of studies in magazines and in book form on every conceivable aspect of Tolstoy have appeared since the Revolution. No attempt can be made here to review all these publications. Only a few of the recent and most outstanding works can be mentioned.

IN THE FIELD of biography, apart from pertinent volumes already published in the Academy Edition, some very significant collections of source materials—reminiscences, diaries, and letters—have appeared. In *The Collection of the State Tolstoy Museum, The Annals of the State Literary Museum, L. N. Tolstoy,* and in a recent volume of *Literary Heritage,* a great many valuable items that shed much light on the life of Tolstoy are published for the first time.

Of considerable biographical importance was the appearance in 1936 of the last of four volumes of the diaries of Tolstoy's wife. These volumes reveal much that is new on Tolstoy's life and works, but they are even more important for their information on the highly complicated question of the domestic tragedy that existed for many years in the Tolstoy household.

Perhaps the single publication of most value for future biographical study is N. N. Gusev's *Annals of the Life and Works of L. N. Tolstoy.* Gusev was Tolstoy's secretary for the last two years of the author's life, and he is perhaps the greatest living authority on Tolstoy's biography. What Gusev has attempted to do in this vast compilation is to draw up a chronicle of Tolstoy's life day by day over the entire eighty-two years of his existence, listing all the wealth of facts, events, and writings. His selection of significant material is almost impeccable, and the vast store of references attests to Gusev's tremendous erudition in the field. His book will be the standard reference work for all future investigations of Tolstoy.

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In the field of critical and literary investigation, some of the most illuminating studies on Tolstoy are to be found in periodicals. V. Vinogradov's extensive article, "On the Language of Tolstoy," is a brilliantly successful attempt to apply philological methods to clarify the diverse elements that contribute to Tolstoy's literary language. And P. Popov's article "The Style of the Early Tales of Tolstoy" amounts to much more than a study of style; the article contains new information and some interesting speculation on the whole problem of the composition of *Childhood* and *Boyhood*. An entirely different field is covered by Lukach in his article "Tolstoy and the Development of Realism." Lukach successfully attempts to show that the explanation of Tolstoy's literary greatness is to be found in an analysis of the historical conditions expressed in his productions.

Among the most notable critical studies of Tolstoy in book form is Professor B. M. Eikhenbaum's *Leo Tolstoy*. Two volumes have already appeared and a third is in the press. Against a biographical framework, Eikhenbaum critically examines all those factors that determine the development of Tolstoy the thinker and literary artist in the 1850's and 1860's. It is a most stimulating investigation, studded with original, often paradoxical, explanations of the origins of Tolstoy's thought and of the ideas and forms behind his productions. Much use is made of foreign literary influences, and although one cannot always agree with the more startling conclusions, it must be admitted that the author has opened whole new vistas in the historical comparative study of Tolstoy.

Professor N. K. Gudzi's book *How Tolstoy Worked* has aroused great interest. In it he makes wide use of the material handled by him in his editorial efforts on the Academy Edition, in order to show, by a special analysis of the numerous manuscripts of *The Power of Darkness, The Kreutzer Sonata, The Devil,* and *Resurrection,* just how Tolstoy worked, from the conception of a story to its final consummation. With patient erudition he takes the reader to the workbench of a great artist's literary laboratory and presents a full length and absorbing picture of Tolstoy's intense, tireless labor over his productions.

The latest study is L. Myshkovskaia's, *L. Tolstoy, Work and Style.* Like Gudzi, Myshkovskaia is concerned with the creative process, but unlike him, she goes beyond the bounds of a purely empirical study. She concentrates on Tolstoy's creation of *Hadji Murad* and *Kholstomer,* and perhaps the chief contribution of the investigation, which has some serious lapses in scholarship, is the light it sheds on Tolstoy's use of historical sources and on his extraordinary devotion to veracity in historical fiction.

The survey of Soviet scholarship on Tolstoy is necessarily incomplete, but it will serve to give some idea of the enormous labor that is being expended on the study and interpretation of the works of Russia's greatest lit-

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ERNEST J. SIMMONS.

Reprinted from the "American Review on the Soviet Union."

Yeats' Life

POETRY OF WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS, *by Louis MacNeice. Oxford University Press. $2.50.*

COMING to a concert in the middle of a piece of music, we find it helpful if we can identify the composition or at least the composer. The identification sets into operation memories, expectations, attitudes, judgments, etc., which have become parts of our listening apparatus. Some critics disparage this, holding that the ear is all the apparatus we should use. But that is romancing. The period of "pure" perception ends, one might say, in the second minute of our lives.

This observation is prompted by Mr. MacNeice's preface, wherein he tends to understate his services in providing just the accessory apparatus I spoke of above. True, the impact of the poem is the most important thing, in reading it, but the path of the impact is cleared by relevant information such as Mr. MacNeice provides. He tells us "who Yeats was, who were his friends, what were his literary influences, political opinions, and social prejudices," concluding, "These things were not the cause of his poetry but they were among its conditions," and justifying his dealing with them because "such a study will make his poetry more intelligible and more sympathetic."

Mr. MacNeice's former interest in Marxist criticism, though he does not acknowledge it, helps him to carry out this program with considerable effectiveness, and despite his admiration for the man and fondness for the poetry, MacNeice does not slide over the poseur, dabbler, snob aspects of Yeats' career, nor does he conceal that Yeats in his last days unfortunately wrote a ditty for the Irish fascists.

Furnished with the information Mr. MacNeice has assembled here, I reread Yeats' *Collected Poems.* I was pleased again, as I had been before with this eloquent, zestful, and well made poetry, the work of a fastidious yet vigorous craftsman. But the content of the poetry was now clearer to me and some of its "conditioning" was clearer. Though, on the whole I found myself in agreement with Mr. MacNeice's literary judgments and impressed with his keen perceptions into the high and conscientious craftsmanship that marks Yeats as a poet, I found myself not to dismiss as tolerantly the often pedanti- mystical, frequently arbitrary, often foolish and sometimes evil things said in the poems. We must some day face the issue of an ill use of talent as we face the issue of an ill use of other powers.

LEAVING other important conditioning factors in Yeats' life—his late maturity in sexual love; his experiences, business and political as well as artistic, as a theater manager; his habits and methods as an artist; his artificial avatar as a mystic; his great interest in folk literature; his peculiar concentration on friendships and his absorption in heritage—I will dwell on Yeats' reaction to the Irish revolution. For though Mr. MacNeice deals with Yeats' political opinions and the influence of political people upon him, the treatment seems to me evasive and, at times, insensitive.

It is clear that for all his touchy individualism Yeats wished to be important to his people. His warm and lifelong interest in Irish folk literature shows it. The vigor and persistence with which he strove to give Ireland a national theater show it. There are places in his poems and, especially, in his early plays, that show strong social sympathies. This degenerated, it is true, finally into a perverse (and literary) fondness for the lumpenproletariat as set apart from the masses. And it is true that his interest in being an esthetic public servant changed into a back-turning, crotchety, anti-social and, simultaneously, aristocratic individualism. However, in considering Yeats' work as a whole, the last is not so important as it once seemed to be. What is important, if Yeats' political and social reactions are to be fully understood, is to trace the conditioning of the changes. And that Mr. MacNeice is either unwilling or unable to do.

In the allusions to Irish revolutionists in Yeats' poems, it is clear that some were among the most impressive people he met. Yeats presents them bitterly as examples of waste, people who had been turned to stone by the fixity of their purpose.

Such reactions are common in the history of literary attitudes toward revolution, especially toward a lost revolution. There is, in even little-involved writers, a certain sense of evaded responsibility. No revolutionist may accuse them, but the very existence and constancy of revolutionists are irritably felt as accusations. There is thus a note of defensive recrimination in the work of many writers who have lived in a revolutionary time. It is rancorous in Yeats; it is audible also in Mr. MacNeice.

Mysticism and eroticism are also stock aftermaths of a lost revolution. Whatever individual characteristics they took on in Yeats' case from other factors in the conditioning complex, one may consider the mysticism and eroticism in Yeats' later poetry as flights into the subjective, out of reach of the decomposing hopes of a lost revolution.

Finally, we can observe in Yeats another figure characteristic of a distraught society whose conflicts continue unresolved, a society which moves lamely in a provisional stability got by shameful coercions and as shameful compromises—society after a lost revolution. A people in such a situation may have an ignoble look; and its struggles may seem petty or futile. To a narrow mind—and, despite his philosophic pretensions, Yeats' mind became crabbed and narrow—the generality of people made a poor show. To such a mind the free are the top people (the aristocrats, who have the freedom of power) and the bottom people (beggars and drunks, who have the freedom of indifference). The vast, mediocre majority are in between, envying the lot of the former and dreading the fate of the latter; the majority are the enslaved.

This thought is voiced in a number of poems, but perhaps most clearly in the poem "The Seven Sages" which deals with Burke, Swift, Goldsmith, and Bishop Berkeley. The poem ends:

They understood that wisdom comes of beggary,
The four notables, named and described by the sages,
All hated Whiggery; but what is Whiggery?
A levelling, rancorous, rational sort of mind
That never looked out of the eye of a saint
Or out of drunkard's eye.

Aside from the fact that Yeats here reads and interprets history by whim, and the whim a repulsive one, we see in this wisdom of the beggar and nobility of the drunk, as opposed to the "whiggery" of plain people, an anti-social turn of which no amount of explanation can make sense, and which no elaboration can make attractive since Yeats' own poetry fails in that. Granted that this foolish and gross Toryism is by no means an essential or even a large part of what constitutes the excellent poet W. B. Yeats, yet it is the part which festered into the fascist ditty for the scoundrel O'Duffy. It is the evidence Yeats supplies, as other writers do, that writers do take sides on earth however loftily they posture among the spheres. And I call it to Mr. MacNeice's attention that all the elaborate pretensions in his book that he is neutral and is taking no sides are, at best, a self-delusion. He might examine, for example, what impels him to spend so much time, in his book, on hostile discussion of Marxist criticism.

Perhaps Mr. MacNeice has more complicated motives than he is aware of, or wishes to be noticed. He says that he was led to the writing of his book because he is fond of Yeats' poetry—which is a sufficient reason—and because Yeats is being ignored or attacked—which is questionable. That may be true, perhaps, in Ireland which, after all, has had a great deal of him. But it is hardly true in this country where Yeats is one of the dominant influences among young poets and one of their most imitated masters; and where, in a year when books about poetry have been scarce, four devoted to his work have appeared.

I wonder why, in defending Yeats who

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suffered as a writer, most, if he suffered from anything, from the philistinism which Marxism holds as one of its chief objects of attack, Mr. MacNeice, without even an elbowing of the philistines, rushes upon Marxists. Is it in this way that Mr. MacNeice thinks he will most acceptably rationalize his change from his former Oxford proletarianism to his present what-is-it? For Mr. MacNeice is careful to leave his present position vague outside the specification that it is certainly not Marxist.

In his attack on Marxist critics the scrupulous care to define and qualify which marks his writing on all other pages is abandoned. I cannot help feeling that consciously or unconsciously, Mr. MacNeice thought, "Here I can relax. No publisher will print a Marxist counterblast; no newspaper or magazine, not even a liberal journal, will print a Marxist reply." For Mr. MacNeice puts arbitrary opinions in the mouths of presumably representative Marxist critics and makes statements I think he would at least have qualified had he thought he would be drawn into debate. It is thus fairly typical Red-baiting, though done in cultured accents.

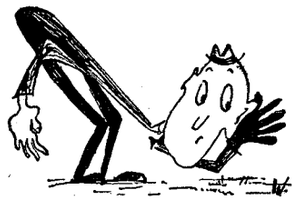
I MIGHT put down here something with which Mr. MacNeice seems to think he scores heavily. Coming to the defense of poets of the right on the presumable charge of opportunism, a charge never leveled as indiscriminately by Marxist critics as MacNeice seems to imply, he cries, "You're another," in the following peculiar paragraph:

"I have a suspicion that many intellectuals of the left fancy this society [the classless society] with a special niche for themselves in it, that they take it the writer will be honored when the banker and aristocrat have gone—looking at the circulation of novels and even poetry in the USSR."

It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. MacNeice that even if this were true the enterprise is highly speculative and represents no immediate or tangible compromise; whereas the advocacy by writers on the right of a system that, by their own open admission or, at least by its representation in their writings, is full of injustices and corruption, is heavily involved in compromises.

As far as Mr. MacNeice's main thesis is concerned, his discussion of Marxist criticism is pointless and always sounds dragged in, in the context. Even if he were right in his attacks on Marxist criticism it would not make Yeats' politics right by Mr. MacNeice's own standards. Nor does the discussion serve to illuminate Yeats' life. On the contrary, to illuminate Yeats' life, Mr. MacNeice has to approximate Marxist criteria and methods elsewhere in the book. Finally, since Mr. MacNeice avoids any explicit statement of his political views it serves no general constructive purpose. It seems then, as I have suggested before, to have the function of asides to his audience: "But, of course, my dears, I am not a Communist."

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.



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SOME THOUGHTS ON REPERTORY

Why several theater groups have fallen short of their intentions. Revivals that don't come off. . . . Joy Davidman sees the new Soviet opera film "Musical Story."

THE fact that the Theater Guild is instituting a revival series of formerly successful plays, the first of which is currently running—*Ah, Wilderness!*—reminds us that past experiments in the establishment of repertory in America have been largely unsuccessful. Many will remember Miss Eva Le Gallienne's ill-fated Civic Repertory Theater in New York, that ran about three seasons and collapsed for lack of public support despite relatively low admission prices. The Group Theater, when it was still functioning, fondly played with the idea of repertory—not only a revival bill of new plays pioneered by the Group, but even Shakespeare. *Waiting for Lefty* was revived for a time, as well as *Awake and Sing;* but neither brought big money, and the Bard of Avon was never attempted. And the fact that the Theater Guild, which has announced revivals of *Desire Under the Elms* and *Anna Christie,* among others, plans to run these plays for only four weeks at a time in New York, before sending them on the road, seems a confession of defeat.

There is no reason why people who love the theater would not support a repertory company that offered tickets at prices within the reach of the poor man's pocketbook. In the Soviet Union, for example, people regularly attend revivals of popular and classic drama, just as we in New York go to the Lewisohn Stadium or Carnegie Hall time after time, when we know a favorite composition will be played, and have the price. But it is interesting to speculate upon the failure, within the past several years, of any well intentioned experiment in the repertory field. Miss Le Gallienne sold tickets at remarkably low prices, and she produced some plays of everlasting interest—Chekhov's *The Cherry Orchard* and *Three Sisters,* Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night,* and many others. Yet it might be said without too great injustice that the level of direction, of acting and production in general was terribly low. Her very earnestness imparted a lugubrious quality even to so light-hearted a bubble as Goldini's *Mistress of the Inn,* and her Chekhov performances, her production of Ibsen's *Master Builder* and *Hedda Gabler* were such as to coin a phrase among the sardonic: "Ah, the pain of it!"

One *sine qua non* of repertory then would seem to be an acting company of accomplished players, directed by a *regisseur* with something approaching a knowledge of stagecraft, timing, movement on the stage. Well, what about the Group? To Le Gallienne earnestness, it added an acting company that was pretty nearly nonpareil; directorship that was frequently brilliant in the extreme; innovation in approach and something close to genius. Out of the Group there emerged such sterling performers as Morris Carnovsky and Lee Cobb, Ruth Nelson and Phoebe Brand, Art Smith, Roman Bohnen, Elia Kazan, Franchot Tone, and John Garfield. Out of the Group there also emerged Clifford Odets, Mordecai Gorelik, Lee Strassberg and Harold Clurman, Sidney Kingsley, and many other figures of stage and script, of lesser talent. And if The Group had not been torn by contradictory impulses—toward a theater of the people, and toward a successful Broadway company—if The Group had not been licked by the problems of paying a permanent acting company and finding backers and producing worthwhile plays that would automatically succeed on Broadway, we might have had the makings of an American people's theater.

For the Federal Theater of the WPA, even when its productions were mediocre, conclusively proved that there existed an enormous audience which would throng to plays if it had the price of admission and was not required to support on a luxurious scale a company of actors, directors, and technicians. Federal Theater, had it not been sabotaged by certain congressional tories, could even have spread so wide over the land and developed so many outlets for its products, that it would inevitably have raised its own standards of stagecraft, not to mention the salaries of its actors, directors, and designers. In its thousands of performances before millions of people—hundreds of thousands of whom had never seen an actor on the stage—it was the nearest thing to a national repertory theater we have ever had in America. And it was already in a fair way to supplying competent, intelligent, illuminating theater for the masses. It revealed the great fecundity of human talent, formerly concealed in unsuspected places, as well as the great appetite of our people for theater.

It may still appear to be true that for every single person who would pay sixty-five cents to see a good classical play, there are hundreds who would rather see a bad new moving picture—but it need not always be true. The moving pictures, great and independent medium of expression as they are, have given a new impetus to interest in the theater; just as the stage has contributed many vitalizing factors to the screen. And if the movies seem to have put the stage play in the shade, the greatest single factor lies in the difference between the price of theater and movie tickets.

To the trade unions of our country, to the New Theater League which is affiliated with and close to many of the trade unions, we must look for the next revival of the stage in America. If the trade unions want theater—and they do—and if the New Theater League and its affiliates throughout the land display energy, foresight, and initiative, they can have it. Together the unions and the NTL and the thousands upon thousands of little theater groups throughout the United States can place actors on the many darkened stages of our forty-eight states. The level of competency in acting, in direction, and in stagecraft will grow in direct ratio to the organizational energy put forth by the multitudes of men, women, and children associated with the unions, who *want* the theater and are willing to go to bat for it.

ALVAH BESSIE.

Recent Movies

A Soviet musical and a documentary. . . . "This Woman Is Mine."

FILMS about aspiring opera singers have a family likeness the world over; whether in Moscow or the Metropolitan, the whole point is to let the tenor throw his head back and gurgle forth the golden notes. For plot, amorous misunderstandings are bound to turn up. The Soviet film *Musical Story,* at New York's Stanley theater, is no exception. Working with a slight, even a sentimental story, however, it manages to introduce enough humanity and humor to give it distinction. The singing is magnificent, the comedy engaging. *Musical Story* begins with a taxi driver who has a fine tenor voice, and an aged musician who once had. Drawn together by their mutual love of music, they bring opera to the taxi drivers' union, even going so far as to kidnap the only available drummer from the union's jazz band. Meanwhile Petya, the young tenor, pursues his love affair with Klava, hampered by his own shyness and by the horrid machinations of a rival, a delectable little snipe with a mustache like you-know-who.

Eventually Petya's union pays for his musical education. At this point misunderstandings with Klava enter, and the film, for the first time, becomes a little tedious. Petya moons about backstage; Klava moons about in the rain outside. At last, on the heels of Petya's triumphant debut, they rush into each other's arms again, and no one is surprised—except Alfred, the snipe.

The tenor Lemeshev, in the leading role, is not only a fine singer; more surprisingly, he is a presentable young man with a fair talent for acting and without sticky glamour on his

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eyelashes. Konovalov plays the old musician with warmth and tenderness, Fedorova manages to make Klava sprightly, and no one will ever forget the snipe with the mustache. The essential thing about all these people is their lack of affectation, their lack of the inch-thick makeup and the waxed hair-do which Hollywood confuses with human beauty. No Veronica Lake could be prettier than Fedorova, but Fedorova does not attempt to be a perfectly groomed doll; she is content to be an office worker in a blouse and skirt. Consequently Soviet actresses manage to seem people you might meet any day on the street.

In addition, *Musical Story* lives up to its name. If you like opera, here it is, full measure.

A SHARP CONTRAST to this lighter aspect of Soviet life is provided by the two short features also playing at the Stanley. An admirable documentary film dealing with the 1940 Agricultural Exposition in Moscow gives you a picture of the tremendous wealth of the Soviet, the wealth which has tempted Hitler; a film on the war shows you how the Soviet is defending it. The Agricultural Exposition is on the scale of the Soviet building at our own World's Fair. Its superb livestock, grain, fruit, and vegetables, its magnificent displays of farm machinery, its posters honoring outstanding Soviet agriculturists alternate in the film with actual shots of the farms from which all this had come; of the Russian people working in the fields. Five minutes later you see the Russian people fighting. The Nazi planes fall burning from the sky.

SUCH A FILM as *This Woman Is Mine* is difficult to review. It is better than its cheap and completely irrelevant title would indicate; reasonably well acted, fairly well photographed, written and directed with moderate intelligence, it provokes neither praise nor blame. It spreads abroad a pervasive mediocrity which chokes all enthusiasm and dampens all wit.

This is an adventure story of pioneer fur-trading days in Oregon. Many trusty old friends are reunited in its eventful history; the harsh sea captain, the Scotch fur traders, bagpipe, kilts, and all, the shy clerk of whom the wilderness makes a man, the beautiful girl smuggled on board dressed as a boy, the good Indian (i.e. the one who lets you cheat him) and the bad Indian (i.e. the one who objects with a tomahawk). All this has, in the past, often made a good story; perhaps too often. Your enjoyment of *This Woman Is Mine* might be more noticeable if you could rid yourself of the uneasy feeling that you've paid to see something which you've seen many times before.

One should, in a review, say something about the actors; but why bother? They're all right. Franchot Tone is pleasant, Carol Bruce is an agreeable young woman guaranteed not to wake you up, John Carroll (isn't it about time for the movies to think up some new first and last names?) achieves at least

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The scenery is moderately beautiful.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

New Recordings

Heifetz and Feuerman with the Philadelphia Orchestra . . . Rachmaninoff.

OUTSTANDING among the classical recordings for October is Victor's release of Brahms' "Double Concerto for Violin, Cello, and Orchestra," with two distinguished artists, Jascha Heifetz and Emanuel Feuerman, as soloists and Eugene Ormandy conducting the Philadelphia Orchestra.

When this now celebrated concerto received its first public performance, it evoked a singular lack of appreciation from critics of the day. The combination of instruments was unfamiliar at that time and the novelty confused even those musicologists who revered the composer. The lukewarm reception is puzzling to us who know that the concerto was written by a mature Brahms—in his fifty-fourth year. He brought to the treatment of the unusual combination of instruments the resources of his most mature experience, having already completed his four symphonies and the magnificent violin concerto.

Today the "Double Concerto" is acclaimed by critic and layman alike as one of Brahms' greatest musical compositions. It contains a wealth of tender melodies which are developed into amazingly powerful and sonorous climaxes. The music possesses a symphonic breadth, a perfection of form, and a richness of orchestration which place it high in the ranks of musical achievement. This reviewer has always been particularly fascinated by the slow movement—a golden and glowing creation.

Until this month only one recording of the concerto has been available—the masterful presentation by Casals, Thibaud, and orchestra directed by Cortot. The new release surpasses even the magnificence of the older reading. Heifetz and Feuerman play with their customary brilliance and are accorded a stunning accompaniment by the orchestra. (Victor $4.50)

To satisfy the rapidly growing interest in two-piano music, Victor has just issued Rachmaninoff's "Suite No. 2 for Two Pianos," played by Vitya Vronsky and Victor Babin. It replaces the older recording of the same composition by these artists and again demonstrates that it is a perfect vehicle for their combined talents. The music is rich and melodic, with a characteristic Russian flavor, and emphasizes the musical conservatism and traditional approach of the composer. (Victor $3.50)

MICHAEL AMES.

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